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COLLECTIONS

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CONTENTS.

Page

Correspondence between Jeremy Belknap and Ebenezer Hazard:
Part II. . . . . 1 to 371

Appendix of Additional Letters . . . . . 373[1] to 373[35]

Letters and Documents relating to Slavery in Massachusetts . . 373

Prefatory Note 375

Queries relating to Slavery in Massachusetts 378

Negro Petitions for Freedom 432

Brief of Levi Lincoln in the Slave Case tried 1781 438

INDEX 445

BELKNAP PAPERS.

PART II.

REISSUE WITH APPENDIX OF BELKNAP LETTERS.

1882.

THE BELKNAP PAPERS.

EBENEZER HAZARD TO JEREMY BELKNAP.

New York, January 11, 1788.

My dear Sir, — You have again got me largely in your debt. I cannot help it. Why did you propose discontinuing the Foresters? I was surprised to see "and *concluded.*" Jedediah Morse *was* the man. His Gazetteer will undoubtedly interfere with yours.

January 16.

I was twice interrupted in proceeding only so far, and obliged *to stop*. Mr. Morse's intention is to publish both a Geography and Gazetteer, and he has made considerable progress in both: he has already spoken to a *printer* about the former, and has made such proficiency in the latter that the Geographer-general of the Union (who had a similar intention) has dropped his design, and given Mr. Morse the materials he had collected, and a promise of farther assistance. For these reasons, I think it will hardly be worth your while to prosecute your plan. The state of your sales here is exactly as I informed you before. I have not heard lately from New Haven, nor have I been able to do any thing yet with the Boston bank-note: however, I will order Bryson to pay Aitken 5 dollars, and try to dispose of the note hereafter. Money is so exceedingly hard to be got, that I have no doubt Aitken wants it. Don't the *Columbians* owe you something?

Do you hear any thing from General Sullivan yet? I hope he may have interest enough with the Assembly to get them to do something for you. The packet for Mr. Spotswood has been forwarded. Did you not misunderstand his request of "another guinea's worth"? Did not he mean of the *Foresters?* I was much pleased with *the Life.* I would willingly assist you if I could, but biography lies entirely out of my road. Will not Neal's History of the Puritans and Mather's Magnalia furnish you with valuable shreds, which may be wove into a new web? By the last post, I received the enclosed two packets for you. There is a Society in London for the abolition of the slave-trade, and I am a member of a Society instituted here for promoting the manumission of slaves, and protecting such as have been, or may be, liberated. The London Society has requested us to inform them what has been done in the several States tending to promote the designs of our institution; and, at a meeting of our Committee of Correspondence last evening, some others, with myself, were appointed to collect the information. Will you find out the following particulars for me?

1. Are there any slaves in New Hampshire or Massachusetts?

2. May any be imported into either?

3. Have any laws been passed in either respecting slaves? If there have, what is the substance of them?

4. Are the children of negroes born free in those States?

5. If there are slaves, have any (and what) steps been taken for their emancipation?

6. Have their children an equal right to education in the town schools with those of whites? If you can communicate any other information upon this subject, which I have not hinted at, I will thank you for it.

What will your Convention do? Will they say aye or no? if *aye*, will it be said by such a majority as to secure the peaceable adoption of the new Constitution? Much, I

think, depends upon them; and I believe *our* conduct will be much influenced by theirs.

We are all pretty well at present, though we have been much troubled with colds. No 3d coming yet. We have our hands full with two. Aye, we wish you and Mrs. B. could spend an evening with us, by our fireside, or that we could with you, by yours; but we fear this is rather to be wished than expected, at present: however, though we cannot have the pleasure of seeing our friends, we are happy to hear that they are comfortably situated.

Mr. Wilson (one of our ministers) has lately received a call from Charleston, in South Carolina, which I am rather inclined to think he will accept: indeed, the state of his health, to which I believe a Southern climate would be favourable, seems to render it necessary. The congregation are so sensible of this, that, at a meeting on Monday last, we unanimously agreed to his dismission, if the Presbytery, which is to meet the 22d inst., think his removal adviseable. This will make an opening for somebody; but it is not every one that will suit us. He must be a *Calvinist*, a man of popular talents, and not unacquainted with *the graces*. Inter nos, how do you think our friend *Buck* (of P—— th) would do? Is he "come-at-able"? Would he turn Presbyterian? What is his salary?

Our rivers are much obstructed by ice, and this is a stormy day. We all send love as usual. I am

Yours affectionately,

EBEN. HAZARD.

[Copy of affidavit enclosed.]

January 11, 1788.

I was in company with Colonel Matthias Ogden and Captain Jonathan Dayton, at Elizabethtown, Crane's Ferry. After some conversation respecting the conveyance of the mail this present year, they begun to question

me how and in what manner I came to be the person that the Postmaster-general made choice of to contract with. The answer I gave them: I supposed that the proposals I sent in was the best that the Postmaster-general had received. They farther asked me the date of my proposals I gave in to the Postmaster-general, which answer I gave: I must refer them to Mr. Hazard, for I had not the copy of the proposals I sent in. It appeared to me, from the whole of their conversation, that they wanted me to say something respecting Mr. Hazard, that they could impeach his character. The reason of my thinking so: Captain Dayton said he was decidedly in favour of displacing the Postmaster-general; and the plan that was mentioned for to displace the Postmaster-general was to nominate some person in Congress, who lived to the eastward of New York, for Postmaster-general, as that would naturally divide Mr. Hazard's interest in Congress: as, they said, the Southern members were much against the present Postmaster-general; and, they further said, that two members in particular, that was great friends to Mr. Hazard, was out of Congress, which circumstance would make it easier to get the present Postmaster-general displaced.*

Ichabod Grumman.

City of New York, ss.

Personally appeared before me, William W. Gilbert, Esq., one of the aldermen of the said city, Ichabod Grumman, who, being duly sworn, did depose that the above declaration, subscribed by him in my presence, and every part thereof, is strictly true. Ichabod Grumman.

Sworn before me, this 26th day of February, 1788.

Wm. W. Gilbert, *Alderman.*

(Copy.)

* This paper was enclosed in a letter on p. 67. — Eds.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

Boston, January 13, 1788.

My dear Sir, — I promised, in my last, to give you some account of our Convention. They began to come together on Wednesday last, and they have been growing in number, till they now count 329! The Representatives' Chamber was so crowded with them that they adjourned, on Thursday P.M., to the meeting-house in Brattle Street, for the convenience of two stoves placed there; but, the house being ill-contrived for an assembly of speakers, they found it impossible to hear one another, and so adjourned, yesterday, back again to the State House. They do not seem yet to be settled in their seats, and have done no business but settling contested elections and other preliminaries. Among them are some of the *insurgents* of last winter; and it is supposed that, when they come to the point in hand, there will be a hard struggle. This week will probably produce something; and the result of the Connecticut Convention, which was announced by the post last evening, will, I hope, have some good effect. It was yesterday moved to send for Mr. Gerry, that he might give an account of his reasons for not signing the Constitution; but a majority appeared against it. This has a favourable aspect. Gorham, King, and Strong, the other delegates to the General Convention, are members of this body, and will doubtless have influence. King arrived here yesterday from New York.

You have not favoured me with a line for some weeks. I know your engagements and your attention to business too well to be in any pain at the omission; but I really wish to hear from you, and am, dear sir, with the kindest regards to Mrs. Hazard and your little ones, in which Mrs. B. joins, Your affectionate friend,

Jere. Belknap.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

Boston, Sunday evening, January 20, 1788.

My dear Sir, — Though I have heard nothing from you for a great while, I shall continue to write when I have any thing worth communicating. In my last, I began some account of our Convention. This is a fruitful subject, and will be of long continuance, if they go on no faster than they have hitherto done. They have, as yet, proceeded only to the article respecting *the Senate*. For a particular detail of the several speeches, *pro* and *con*, *vide* the newspapers; for the printers have appointed *delegates* to the Convention to take short-hand minutes, and they are very industrious.

I shall only give you some remarks of my own. I hope the body is at length *fixed*. Last Thursday they removed to the meeting-house where your friend officiates, in Long Lane, which is light, sizeable, and convenient for spectators. Every part of the Constitution which has yet been considered and objected to has been very ably defended. Dana, King, Parsons, Dalton, Strong, Sedgwick, and Ames are among the best advocates. The anti-federal speakers are very clamorous, petulant, tedious, and provoking: you will see the names of Nason, Thompson, Wedgery, Taylor, Bishop, &c., but they are men whose only force lies in noise and opposition. There is a number of honest, silent men, who wish for information; and on these the Federalists place their hopes of success. The more the Constitution is canvassed, the brighter it shines; and though at the beginning of last week its friends were vibrating between hope and despair, though some had almost given it up for lost, yet the force of truth has had such influence that they now feel encouraged. My worthy friend, Judge Dana, thunders like Demosthenes. He spoke on Friday with such pathetic energy that it seemed as if

his feeble frame could scarcely have supported him (for, you must know, he has been sick all last summer, and is but just recruited). He expressed the feelings of an honest mind, which had taken an early and decided part in the cause of the country, and wished to see its labours and sufferings crowned with success, but which would all be lost if this Constitution should be lost. I need not add that he was greatly admired. R. King explains every thing in a most clear and masterly manner, and is of the most eminent service to the cause. I wrote you, in my last, that the Anti-feds. had miscarried in their attempt to get Gerry introduced. They renewed the attempt on Monday, and succeeded. The vote was: "That E. G. be requested to take a seat in the House, that he might answer such questions as should be proposed *by the Convention* (not by particular members) relative to *matters of fact* which concerned the formation of the Constitution." He came on Tuesday, and sat biting the head of his cane till Friday P.M. Then began an affair, which, as I was present, and in a situation to see and hear very particularly, I will recite at large, especially as I suppose it will be differently represented. The Anti-feds. will say that his mouth was stopped, in order to prevent their receiving that light and information which he would have given, that the Constitution may be crammed down, &c., &c. The facts were precisely these: On Friday P.M., an honest member, who, I believe, is a Federalist, and I believe you know him, Major Fuller, of Newtown, desired to know why Georgia had 3 representatives allowed in the new plan, and Massachusetts 8, when, in the *last* requisition for taxes, they were assessed but one thirteenth of what Massachusetts was. One of the Anti-feds. desired that Mr. G. might answer this question. It was put to vote, and passed in the affirmative. Mr. G. *himself* then asked the President to reduce the question to writing, which he did, and gave it to him. He then took a paper out of his

pocket, asked which was the *last* requisition, was told that it was in October, and was preparing to say something more, when Dana moved that, as G. had the question in writing, he might have time to reduce his answer to writing; giving this reason: that, as there were two parties in the House, his answer might otherwise be differently understood and represented. It was seconded; G. acquiesced, and a vote passed, desiring him to take his own time, and give his answer in writing. He delivered it yesterday A.M. It was to this purpose: That the mode of apportioning taxes in Congress was by a kind of compromise, and that Georgia had lately been increased by migration. R. K. then explained the matter at large, and much more to everybody's satisfaction. This passed. The debate was on the equality of the Senate. Mr. Strong said that G. was one of the Committee of the General Convention, which drew that plan. Gerry then (as he sat near the Secretary's table) took his pen and wrote for half an hour. He then rose, and told the President that he had been stating some facts relative to the Senate, *in writing*. Dana observed that, as he came there to *answer questions*, and no question respecting the Senate had been put to him, it would be improper for him to deliver any thing until a question was put, and moved that it be put in writing, if any question was necessary. Then G. attempted to speak. Parsons insisted to be heard first, as he was a member, and G. was not. He objected to the propriety of G.'s speaking, or offering any thing, before he was called upon. One, and another, and another, Feds. and Anti-feds. carried on the conversation; and though Wedgery drew a question, and the President read it, it was not voted nor put, but a desultory debate on the propriety of G.'s conduct held till one o'clock, when the all-prevailing cry for adjournment came, and Mr. G.'s intended communication dropped, of course. After the adjournment, Dana and he had some very high words; but friends interfered, and took them off different ways.

Thus stood the matter at noon, yesterday; and here I must end my letter, as 'tis growing late, and a friend is waiting for me. So adieu. You shall have more next week.

Love to Mrs. H. Yours, J. B.

Please to send the inclosed, or its value, to Aitken, — 5 dollars.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

Boston, January 25, 1788.

My dear Sir, — Yours of the 11th and 16th inst., received last evening, proved a great refreshment to me. I have much to say on the several subjects mentioned therein, as well as on the subject of our Convention, which has been in session now 16 days, and has not got through the first article yet. I counted no less than 313 on the floor today. Some of them are the very men who were in arms last winter against Government, and they have brought all the inveteracy of their opposition along with them. The Federal speakers are obliged to combat them with the same arguments over and over again, and their objections appear to arise more from an enmity to all or any government, than from any defects in the proposed form. They *will* not be convinced, they *will* not be silenced. Sometimes they get their passions raised, at some trifle or other. Yesterday a boy clapped his hands in the gallery, and some who were by cried *hush*, with a continued sound of the *sh:* this was interpreted *a hiss*. They said they were insulted, and were for removing, or shutting up the galleries: and it was above an hour before they would let the matter subside. Gerry has disappeared ever since Saturday; but he sent in a letter, which you may see in the papers. Dana and he are at variance. Opinions are different on the matter. I think Gerry is all in the

wrong. However, as the grand affair turns, so will his character. If the Constitution is adopted, he will be neglected: if not, he may be Governour or Lieutenant Governour next year.

It gives us great pleasure to hear some of the honest, sensible, independent yeomanry speak in favour of the Constitution. Their feelings, their natural language, their similies, are highly entertaining. We had such a speaker to-day: a Mr. Smith, of Lanesborough, in Berkshire. "I know," said he, "the worth of a good government by the want of it. I live in a part of the country where anarchy has prevailed, and that leads to tyranny. We were so distressed last winter that we should have been glad to submit to anybody who would have set up his standard, even to a monarch; and this monarchy might have led to tyranny; but better have one tyrant than many at once." In answer to the objection that learned and monied men were not fit to be trusted with the Government, he said: "Suppose you have a farm of 50 acres, and your title is disputed, and you join on a man who has 5000 acres, and his title is involved in the same dispute: is it not better to have him for your friend than to defend yourself alone?" Again: "Suppose you were to join with two or three neighbours in clearing up a rough piece of ground, and sowing it with wheat: would you let it lie unfenced because you could not all agree what *sort* of a fence to make? Is it not better to have a fence, though it does not please all your fancies, than to have none?" In answer to the objection, Let it alone for the *present*, and be not in a *hurry*, he said: "Take things when they are ripe. There is a time to sow, and a time to reap: we have sowed our seed by sending men to the Federal Convention. Now the fruit is ripe, let us gather it. This is the harvest; and, if we don't improve this opportunity, I am afraid we shall never have another."

Is not this true natural eloquence and forcible reason-

ing? This speech was received with the highest pleasure. It was addressed to his "brother plough-joggers," as he called them, and it nettled the insurgents, who called him to order; but their voice was over-ruled, and he went through.

How much longer this Assembly may sit, we can but conjecture. The friends to the Constitution say that many converts have been made; and they intend, if they cannot get a clear vote to carry it "all hollow," as the phrase is, — to annex some amendments *recommended* to be adopted by the first Congress, — if the other States agree; and, in this way, they expect to carry it by a considerable majority.

Rufus King shines among the Feds. with a superior lustre. His speeches are clear, cool, nervous, pointed, and conclusive. Parsons distinguishes accurately and reasons forcibly; but I need not give the particular merits of each. You will have them in the papers; for the printers are vigilant, and keep a scribe constantly employed to take minutes, though they cannot copy the energy and pathos of the speakers.*

Now to your questions. The negroes in Massachusetts and New Hampshire are all *free*, by the first article in the Declaration of Rights. This has been pleaded in law, and admitted. "All men are born free and equal." The number of negroes now in New Hampshire is inconsiderable. A number enlisted in the late war for 3 years, and thereby *purchased* their freedom. This was before the new Constitution was made. Some of them died in the service, others removed, and but few are left; but they are all free. No slaves may be imported into *this* State. I know of no prohibitory law in New Hampshire; but, as slavery is abolished by the Constitution, it

* See some further minutes of the Convention, in Proceedings of Mass. Hist. Soc. for March, 1858, pp. 296–304. — Eds.

could be to no purpose to import negroes. When I have opportunity, I will give you the "substance" of *the laws* respecting slaves; but this is the effect of them, or of the Constitution rather, which is the supreme law.* However, we are defective in one point. Vessels are *not restrained* from going to Africa, and selling slaves in the West Indies. Two or three went this fall. In this we are excelled even by Rhode Island, where President Manning (who is now here) says they have made a law, whereby vessels are prohibited going to Africa for slaves, and the oath of one sailor is sufficient to convict the master.

Negro children have a right to go to town schools, but I know of none who exercise it. The negroes of sufficient property vote in town-meetings. Prince Hall, Grand-Master of the Black Lodge, constantly votes for Governour and Representatives; so do some others. They have a religious society in this town, at which the ministers are invited to preach. I preached to them once. They behave with great decency, and *sing* very well. Many of them can read and write. I had two negroes, this fall, sawing my wood. While at work, one of them received a *billet*, in due form, from another negro. What it contained I know not; but it produced a great horse-laugh among them. They use the sirname of the families where they formerly lived, and are published for marriage by those names.

Now for Buck. If Dr. Stevens should *hear*, or *think*,

* Dr. Belknap was living in New Hampshire in 1783, when the Constitution of that State was adopted, and in 1784, when it took effect. After he had removed to Massachusetts, in 1787, he heard of the decision there, as to the clause in their Declaration of Rights, "All men are born free and equal;" and, as he knew that that declaration had been copied by New Hampshire, he *inferred* that slavery was abolished there also. But in 1795, in collecting information on this subject to answer the inquiries of Judge Tucker, he came to the conclusion that New Hampshire had not adopted the Massachusetts construction of the Declaration of Rights, but applied it to the *after-born* only. There probably had been no judicial decision in that State on this clause. All this shows how little was known or thought here on the subject at this time. See 1 Hist. Coll. IV. 204. — Eds.

of the removal of his dear Sally, his only ewe-lamb, from his neighbourhood, it would bring down his grey hairs with sorrow to the grave: therefore, I cannot say a word in favour of the motion. B. is a Calvinist, a sincerely good man, and faithful minister. Serious people all love him; but there is a natural *severity* in him, which hinders his popularity in a great measure.

If Jedediah Morse is so far advanced in his geographical work, there will be no need of my attempting it.

The "Foresters" will be *continued*. I left it optional with the proprietors to say *so*, or concluded, and they said the former; but I cannot prepare one for January, it is now so late in the month. I am drawn into a correspondence with Dr. Rush, and shall beg to make use of you as a medium. Dr. Clarkson *will* not write, but I love him, notwithstanding. Nothing yet from Sullivan. I have no great hope there. The pay for the Columbian pieces is collected here by the sale of the Magazines, and I take it as I want it. I can keep up the Biography, I believe, for one year at least.

Saturday P.M.

The Convention have advanced no farther than the 9th section of the 1st article. I suppose the Anti-feds. begin to be weary. Adieu. Love to you and yours.

J. B.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

New York, February 3, 1788.

My dear Sir, — Yours of 20th and 25th ult. are both before me. The former has been read almost as often as either of St. Paul's Epistles. I got fairly tired of reading it; and yet I could not refuse, as it contained the most particular account of your Convention, and their doings, that has yet been received, and everybody here feels deeply interested in both. Continue your favours in this

way; for I am almost run down by friends who wish for information, and are to the last degree anxious to hear, either that Massachusetts *has* adopted the new Constitution, or that it is reduced to a certainty that she will do it. Your letters have encouraged them; but we cannot certainly determine whether the Federals have a majority or not; or, if they have, how many. Can you tell us? It seems clear that they have the majority of understanding and eloquence; but a nose of wax will be counted one, as well as any other nose.

So G. has got out of the *Pound*. I wonder that he ever suffered himself to get into it. The specimens of elocution and similies which you gave me were very pleasing: they were very natural, and I think must have had great influence on the "plough-joggers," as they were in *their own way*. The Convention proceeds with great deliberation indeed. We have been told that the delegates from the province of Maine have been converted, and are now *all Federal*. Is it so? And I have been told to-day that Massachusetts *has adopted* the new Constitution. Indeed, a gentleman came to my house on purpose to ask me if I had any advice of it from Boston. I told him no, but thought it could not be true, as on the 25th ult. the Convention had advanced no farther than article 1, section 9, unless the Anti-feds. had got weary, and called for the question.

I thank you for the information about the negroes. What I said about Buck was only *from myself*. I question whether anybody else here knows him. It will probably go no farther. Our Mr. Wilson has been regularly and honourably dismissed, and is on the point of sailing for his new charge, at Charleston, South Carolina. I think it not improbable that we shall have Jedediah Morse here, as a *supply*, for some time; at least, he has been thought of. These temporary supplies will give us an opportunity of looking round for a master workman

to give a call to. I am glad the *Foresters* are to be continued. Spotswood has dropped his newspaper, for want of encouragement. Some Anti-federal writers, in other papers, assert it was because he was Anti-federal. Carey is going to resume the publication of that paper, the Herald. Take care how you *commit yourself* to your new correspondent. Neither his stability nor prudence are to be depended upon. Dr. C., I believe, *cannot* write. My mother (his sister) and I very seldom hear from him, and I am sure he loves us, as we all do you and Mrs. B. I had forgot to tell you that the second 5 dollar bank-note came safe to hand, and I have ordered payment to Mr. Aitken. But the mail will be closed. Adieu. EBEN. HAZARD.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

BOSTON, February 3, 1788, evening.

MY DEAR SIR, — As Mr. Wingate is going in the stage to-morrow morning, I shall send this by him, as well as a letter of introduction to you. He was formerly a clergyman, but is now an independent husbandman, — sensible, benevolent, judicious, and knowing. I am sure you will be pleased with him, and he with you.

You will see, by Saturday's Sentinel, the operations of last week in Convention. Hancock is the ostensible puppet in proposing amendments; but they are the product of the Feds. in concert, and it was thought that, coming from him, they would be better received than from any other person. Should they finally take, it will greatly help his popularity, and ensure his election the next year.

Yesterday they chose a committee of two from each county, a Fed. and an Anti., as nearly as they could guess, who are to consider the proposed amendments, and report to-morrow. Tuesday is the day appointed, but it may be Wednesday or Thursday before the final determination.

As the day approaches, and the strength of both sides is so great that neither can *certainly* depend on a majority, the anxiety of every friend to government and justice is increased. "Life and death are before us." Heaven grant a favourable issue. One of the most sanguine of the Feds., and best informed, told me yesterday that he could not count on a majority of more than 5 for the Constitution. The Anti-feds. say now: "You have told us of the perfections of the Constitution; now you acknowledge defects, and want amendments *yourselves*." The Feds. answer: "We are quite willing to take it as it is, trusting to amendments hereafter; but, to accommodate some gentlemen of a delicate mind, propose them now, and think there is a better chance of success, because those States who have not yet adopted the plan may follow our example, and instruct their representatives in the same manner."

You will have the whole course of debates by and bye.

Adieu. Mr. W. is waiting.

Love to you and yours.

JERE. BELKNAP.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

BOSTON, 6 February, 1788.

THIS P.M the great question is decided by a majority of 19, in favour of the Constitution; the whole House being 355. I congratulate you on this auspicious event, and am, with ardent praise to Heaven, and the most sincere affection to you and yours,

Your joyful and happy friend,

JERE. BELKNAP.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

Boston, February 10, 1788.

My dear Sir, — You got the news of the Constitution being ratified three days before it happened! But, in three days from this time, you will have it authenticated by my letter of Wednesday evening. We have had bell-ringing for three days, and on Friday a kind of Lord Mayor's show, the account of which you will see in the papers; and the description is not heightened nor embellished. To-morrow we are to begin again, it being General Washington's birthday.* How long this Federal frolicking will hold, I know not. S. Adams had almost overset the apple-cart by *intruding* an amendment of his own fabrication on the morning of the day of ratification. It was to this purpose: "That Congress should not infringe the rights of *conscience*, the liberty of the *press*, the right of peaceable citizens to bear arms, nor suffer unwarrantable seizure of persons, papers, nor property, &c." Feds. and Antis were alarmed; the former, because they saw the fatal tendency of creating such apprehensions as immediately appeared in the latter, some of whom said that such a man as Mr. A. would not have guarded against these evils, if he had not seen a foundation for them in the Constitution. When A. perceived the mischief he had made, he withdrew his motion; but some of the Anti leaders revived it, and he was obliged finally to *vote against it.* It was thrown out by a very general vote, but it is apprehended this manœuvre lost the Constitution several votes. Some suspect his *intention* was to overset the whole; but "Charity hopeth all things," and I am seriously of the mind that it rather proceeded from a vanity of increasing his *own* popularity, as Han-

* According to the old style of reckoning, corresponding to the 22d, N.S. — Eds.

cock had his, by the midwifeing the other amendments into the world. Had it not been for this step, the whole exertion had been in vain. *A.* has made himself unpopular. Some of the delegates from Maine were converted, but I believe not a greater proportion of them than of the other counties. There were near 100 in all. Some of the most virulent opposers were Mainites; viz., Nason, Wedgery, and Samuel Thompson. The last is implacable, and I fancy has a kind of distraction about him. Parsons gave him a caution against indulging his opposition now the matter was settled, and reminded him of the danger of being punished for treason. His answer was, he should not fear being hanged, if he could have *him* for his lawyer.

The Antis would have had the question called much sooner, but the Feds. protracted the debates on paragraphs till they were *sure* of a majority. The address with which they conducted, both in public and private, does them much honour.

Gerry is crestfallen, but acquiesces.

I have had a letter from Jedidiah Morse, requesting assistance and correction for his geography. When I write, I will enclose it to you, as you say he is to be at New York.

I thank you for the hint about my *new correspondent.* Will you be so good as to forward the inclosed for me to *Norfolk or Portsmouth*, in Virginia, directed to Captain Nathaniel Goodwin, of the ship Thomas and Sarah, lying in that harbour? He is a worthy friend, and is detained in Virginia for a load of tobacco bound to Russia. Love from all mine to all yours.

Your affectionate friend,

Jeremy Belknap.

P. S. That the tradesmen may have something beside frolicking, there was yesterday begun a subscription for a

company to engage in building three ships, of 250 tons each. 11 shares, at £100, were down before noon. This will give employ to many poor fellows who have been in great want.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

New York, February 13, 1788.

My dear Sir, — I have but a moment to thank you for several favours, particularly for the one received to-day, informing of the adoption of the new Constitution by your State. This I consider as another interposition of Divine Providence in our favour, and am heartily rejoiced at it. Mr. Wingate has arrived safely, and delivered me two letters from you. I am much pleased with your character of him, and intend to try to be intimate with him.

I send the Columbian Magazine, with a *good* map of Pennsylvania in it, and am, with love to Mrs. B., in which Mrs. H. joins,

Your affectionate

Eben. Hazard.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

Boston, February 17, 1788.

My dear Friend, — You will see, in the Centinel of yesterday, an account of a most atrocious insult on the rights of mankind and the laws of society, committed within the limits of our harbour a few days ago. Several peaceable negroes, and some of very good character, who have families here, were decoyed on board a vessell which lay below Long Island, under pretence of shifting the ballast, and then carried off to be sold (no doubt) for slaves abroad. It is but just that the author of this mischief

should be known. His name is said to be *Avery*, a native of Connecticut, but pretends to be a citizen of Philadelphia. He is a tall, slim young man, not more than 30 years old; is very supple, and affectedly complaisant; talks much about making and marrying fortunes; is loquacious, forward, and impertinent. The master of the vessell is a Captain Batson, of Cape Ann; and the vessell belongs there, being chartered by Avery for Martinico, for which place he cleared out, but it is suspected by some that he has gone to Georgia. Wherever he goes, I hope the news of his villainy will go before him, or soon follow him, so that he may be detected and avoided, if he cannot be punished.

It often happens that good comes out of evil, and this daring outrage has alarmed and roused the spirit of all consistent advocates for freedom, and will probably produce a strong application to our General Court for a law to abolish all the remains of the iniquitous slave-trade. This is yet in embryo; but I hope, in a few weeks, to be able to give you the whole affair. At present, I wish not to have any thing said of it, though I am willing the account of Avery should be as public as you please to make it.

I was told to-day that 40 towns in New Hampshire have instructed their delegates in Convention to vote against the Constitution. I hope it is not true; for that number will be near one-half the Convention, if they send no more than to the General Court. Pray let me hear how the news of our receiving the Constitution, and the manner of our doing it, operates in your State.

Nothing more than that I am, as usual, with affectionate salutations,

Your friend,

JERE. BELKNAP.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

New York, March 1, 1788.

My dear Sir, — At the last meeting of our society for promoting the manumission of slaves, the case of the three negroes who were stolen from Boston was mentioned, and a committee directed to attend to that business. I think it probable that we shall hear more of it. I wish to hear what effect this matter has in your State.

The New Hampshire delegates seem to be pretty clear that the new Constitution will be adopted there, though there will be opposition to it.

Your letters were duly forwarded. I have not heard from Mr. Morse since. We expect him here soon to supply our vacant pulpit. We have no news. I must have done. Good-night. Eben. Hazard.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

March, 1788.

My dear Sir, — The Magazine which accompanies this ought to have been sent before, but I could not attend to it, and can now only enclose it, and present you and Colonel Waters Mr. Wilson's farewell sermon, with fresh assurances of the regard of

Your friend,

Eben. Hazard.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

Boston, 2 March, 1788. And a dismal cold evening it is!

Dear Sir, — Having nothing from you by last night's post, I have nothing in particular to say; but, as I have Mr. Morse's matter ready, I enclose it, with a copy (or

rather the original) of a petition to the General Court, now sitting, which is to be presented next Tuesday. It is signed by about 90, and will have more hands to it.

The negroes themselves have been put on preferring a petition to the same purpose. I read it last evening. It is a truly original and curious performance, written by the Grand Master of the Black Lodge. When I can get a copy of it (which I have in expectation), I will send it you. Yours affectionately,

J. Belknap.

To the Honourable the Senate, and the Honourable House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, in General Court assembled.

The Memorial and Petition of the Subscribers humbly sheweth:—

That they have, in common with many of their fellow-citizens, long wished for a total abolition of that nefarious traffick which, to the disgrace of civilized nations, professing Christianity, has too long been permitted, from the coast of Africa to the West Indies, and other places, whereby the lives and liberty of thousands of innocent persons have been annually sacrificed to the lust of gain.

That though the Constitution and Laws of this Commonwealth, in their just construction and effect, have remedied this horrid evil, as far as it respects the introduction and continuance of the slavery of the negroes among ourselves, yet we still reflect, with the most poignant grief, on the want of a law which shall totally prohibit any of the citizens of this Commonwealth from engaging in the aforesaid traffic in foreign countries, and which shall effectually prevent the innocent blacks among ourselves from being decoyed on board outward bound vessells, for the purpose of being transported to foreign countries as articles of merchandise.

Your petitioners have been informed that it was in contemplation with your Honours, in a late session of the General Court, to put a final stop to this inglorious stain upon our national character; and it is now our most earnest petition and hope that you will again take the matter under your consideration, and pass a law which shall prohibit, under the severest penalties, the owning, fitting out, and insuring any vessells intended to be sent to the coast of Africa, or elsewhere, for the purpose of buying and selling slaves in foreign parts, and also the decoying and trepanning any of the peaceable inhabitants of this State, white or black, and transporting them abroad for sale; and that your Honours would prescribe such effectual

mode of conviction as that there shall be no possibility for offenders to evade the punishment due to their crimes. Your Honours will permit us to press this matter upon you with an earnestness proportioned to the importance of the cause which we wish to support, and to the strength of our feelings as the friends of humanity, and the consistent and avowed advocates of universal liberty. And your petitioners, as in duty bound, shall ever pray, &c.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

New York, March 5, 1788.

My dear Sir, — I am glad to see that you are so much in favour with the Columbians, especially as you have the *quid pro quo* in your own power. That is a great matter in these hard times. Stick to them as long as you can. *I* think the *Monarch* * a literary puppy, from what little I have seen of him. He certainly does not want understanding, and yet there is a mixture of self-sufficiency, all-sufficiency, and at the same time a degree of insufficiency about him, which is (to me) intolerable. I do *not* believe that *he* is fit for a superintendent; that the persons mentioned will be his coadjutors; or that either the *demand* or the *profits* will be any way near equal to his expectations. His specimens already published (3 Nos.) are below mediocrity; and even in them *he* is too much the hero of the tale. His *plan* of a *Federal* publication, if sensible, judicious men could be engaged to execute it, and an editor of the same stamp could be procured, I think would do well. *Considering circumstances*, I would not advise you to engage with him, but I think you may avail yourself of his application with the Columbians; only take care to do it in such a way that you may not, between two stools, fall to the ground. I don't apprehend it will be worth while "to confer with R. upon

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* The "Monarch" is Noah Webster. — Eds.

the subject." He is as all-sufficient and sanguine as the Monarch, and as fickle as the wind; all sail, no ballast. I have known him from his infancy.

It seems the New Hampshire Convention has adjourned; but Hastings tells me it is *for good*. Divine Providence will order matters rightly. I believe Jerry has given you Peabody's true character. Can it be possible that the Pennsylvania minority's protest has but just reached you! This surprises me. It was published long before any hints were thrown out about *delays*. You ask, "Has any detention been purposely made?" I answer, No. An infamous writer (Anti-federal) in Philadelphia, under the signature of "Centinel," asserted that "the of–c–rs of the p—t o—ce had prostituted their offices and integrity to the nefarious purpose of enslaving their countrymen." He made several attacks before any notice was taken of him, when a piece appeared in a Philadelphia paper, in which "the officers," &c., declared that every charge brought against them by Centinel was *false*, and should be proved to be such, if he would dare to make them with his *real name* subscribed, in which case he should know the real name of his antagonist; if he refused to do this, "he must be considered as making *wanton* attacks upon the characters of men who acted under the sanction of an oath; the public would be at no loss for the motives to his conduct, and the officers, &c., would treat with deserved contempt the ungenerous and unmanly assaults of so unprincipled an assassin." He has never appeared yet except *sub Clypeo*. The fact is, *the office* has nothing to do with newspapers; it is a matter merely between the printers and the riders, who have the carriage of them as a perquisite. The two Anti-federal printers in Philadelphia (Oswald & Bailey) and their coadjutor (the brainless *Greenleaf*) of New York, are the only ones who have published against the office, and neither of them was a printer before the war. In short,

the whole noise appears to me to be an Anti-federal manœuvre, like the "bribery and corruption" at Boston. Mr. Wingate has called on me, and I must bid you adieu.

EBEN. HAZARD.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

BOSTON, 9 March, 1788.

MY DEAR SIR, — I inclose you the letter *open* which came in yours of the 1st inst. *sealed*. By it you will see what are the prospects with regard to the Columbian Magazine, and be the better able to make up a judgment of what is best for me to do in regard of continuing with them, or accepting N. W.'s proposal. I wish I could talk with you; for this way of asking questions, and receiving answers a fortnight or three weeks afterward, is very tedious. Pray let me have your advice as soon as you can form any judgment upon the matter. In answer to what you desire about the carrying off the 3 negroes, I believe I have already told you all the effect it had on the minds of the people, the petitions which have been presented, &c. I now inclose you the negroes' petition. It is Prince Hall's *own* composition and handwriting, given me by himself. When you have made what use you think proper of it, please to return it to me.* The Court have, in consequence of this and the other petition, of which I sent you a copy, and one from the Quakers, appointed a committee to prepare a bill — and it is now preparing, and will be ready by Tuesday — to prohibit any vessell being owned, insured, or loaded for the African slave-trade, &c. You shall have a copy when it is passed. It meets with more opposition than I expected, but I hope will be got through. The fellow (Hammond), who was aiding in

* The negroes' petition is not preserved among Dr. Belknap's papers. It bore date 27th February, and is in the "Massachusetts Spy" for 24th April of this year. — EDS.

decoying the 3 negroes, is in prison; and I suppose will be tried at the Supreme Court, now sitting. It is said he has a son in New York, who is of good character. Do you know him? The father is as grand a rascal as goes unhanged.

Adieu. Our love to all. Yours, J. B.

The letter undirected is for W. Spotswood.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

New York, 19 March, 1788.

My dear Sir, — I am really at a loss how to advise you, but think, upon the whole, I would let the Columbians know that "my necessities also compelled the making a close bargain;" that I had been applied to in behalf of the New York Magazine, but felt myself so much interested in their success (having been so long connected with them), that I did not like to leave them, provided they would stipulate to allow me, *certainly*, what I deemed a reasonable compensation for my assistance, which they acknowledge they do not now allow; and that, upon their doing this, I would continue to aid them. If you can contribute the stipulated assistance to them in case you accept N. W.'s proposal, I see no reason why you should not do the latter too; for, if you fulfil your engagements, you do them no injustice.

You may, in this case, as well have two strings to your bow as not, and I think I would advise to it; especially as the Columbian's continuance is uncertain. I would inform N. W. that some consideration was necessary respecting his plan; but I was, upon the whole, inclined to think I would join him, if he could get the other gentlemen he mentioned to me to be concerned. I think no *cash* is to be advanced by you, upon his plan.

It will be some months before he can begin, and I would not exclude myself from a chance. Adieu.

Yours in haste, EBEN. HAZARD.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

BOSTON, 19 March, 1788.

MY DEAR SIR, — The enclosed is for William Spotswood, who, though a man of business, is a more attentive and regular correspondent than Dallas, who is said to be a "man of leisure" in the letter which Spotswood wrote last, and which I expect by next post to be returned to me, with additional advice from you, when I shall make up my mind, and write particularly to him, as well as answer "the Monarch," whose magazines, I hear, have reached this town, and are considered as inferior to the Columbian.

You will excuse my not enlarging, when you consider that I have been *hard at it* all day. It is now evening, and my nature needs relaxation. We have nothing new. Our negro bill (I suppose) has passed the Lower House. There are opposers, but their opposition was not daring and form[idable, but] rather sly and evasive. I'll tell you more about it next time. Pray have you, or can you procure for me without any expence, Clarkson's "Essay on Slavery"? Is he a Clarkson of your kindred? He is a hero in the cause, and may Heaven prosper his endeavours. With love to you and yours, I am your affectionate friend, J. BELKNAP.

In your list of pamphlets, I see "An Account of the College of New Jersey." Will it help me in drawing up memoirs of Governour Belcher? If so, pray lend it to me.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

New York, April 5, 1788.

My dear Sir, — I have made several attempts to write to you since my last, and been uniformly prevented from doing it. For fear of accidents, I now begin before breakfast.

It is now after dinner, and I have got no farther yet; however, in the interim I have picked up three of Clarkson's publications, which I send, — one for yourself, one for Colonel Waters, and the other for Mr. Hastings. Please to present my compliments with the pamphlets. I send also the Columbian Magazine for March, and a letter from Mr. Morse. I suppose Clarkson has sprung from the same root with our part of the family, but we have no knowledge of him, except from his Treatise on Slavery, which is certainly a masterly performance.

The account of the College of New Jersey mentions nothing about Governour Belcher, except that, being Governour of the Province, he granted the charter, in 1748; and "the same year [1757] died also his Excellency Governour Belcher, who continued to the last a zealous patron of religion and learning. His library, consisting of 474 volumes, together with several other useful and ornamental articles, he left to this College, of which he was himself the founder." Speaking of the College Hall, the writer says: "It is also ornamented on one side with a portrait of his late Majesty (Geo. II.) at full length; and on the other with a like picture (and above it the family arms, neatly carved and gilt) of his Excellency Governour Belcher. These were bequeathed by the latter to this College." You will find something of him in Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts Bay.

I now return you Prince Hall's petition. It will appear in one of our newspapers on Monday, when a trial will

come on between one of our masters of vessels and a member of the society for promoting the manumission of slaves, who accused the former of kidnapping negroes.

You informed me, some time since, that the man who decoyed the negroes from Boston has a *son* in this city: can you give me his history? By the accounts I have of him, he has been very attentive to business, and very successful in it. His deportment is very decent, but there is a vast deal of caution and *unfathomableness* about him. I meet with nobody who knows any thing about him before he came here, and he has long since excited my curiosity.

We shall soon begin to hear more about the new Constitution, as the Convention of Maryland will meet this month. South Carolina will meet in May. I think it probable that both will adopt it; and accounts from *Virginia* are favourable.

My mother and Mrs. H. unite in love to Mrs. B., with

Your friend,

EBEN. HAZARD.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

NEW YORK, April 12, 1788.

DEAR SIR, — The enclosed is just received from Philadelphia; and, that it may not be delayed, I write, though it is Saturday night, and I am wearied by the labours of the week. Have you seen any of the attacks upon me about newspapers? Oswald and Bailey (the anti-federal printers in Philadelphia), and Oswald's Echo (Greenleaf), in this city, have been pelting me at a most unmerciful rate. I have not condescended to reply to any of them, except in one instance, when I was *first* attacked *by name*, and Oswald avowed himself to be the writer. A copy of what I then published you have enclosed, and may make what use you please of it. Their subsequent publications

have been little more than repetitions of their former assertions (which are fully replied to in the enclosed), with a tolerable addition of scurrility. The whole arises from a design in the Anti-federalists in Philadelphia, to prevent the adoption of the new Constitution by the States which have not yet met in Convention; at least, this is my opinion. To effect this, they pretend that newspapers containing anti-federal pieces have not been allowed to circulate, while others have been forwarded with eagerness; and, by this, they design to raise tumults among the people. But they will find all their art insufficient to prevent the adoption of the new Constitution, or I am much mistaken. However, they will stop at nothing. Though their champion, the Centinel, has been more than once detected in falsehoods, he writes on, without a blush. I have given you these hints, that, if you hear the matter talked of, you may be able to talk about it; but don't let it be known that you have any thing upon the subject *from me*. Salutations to Mrs. B. from Mrs. H. and your friend, EBEN. HAZARD.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

NEW YORK, April 16, 1788.

MY DEAR SIR, — Though I *wrote* the enclosed, I was prevented from sending it; "hence learn" how little I am master even of my own motions. In a former letter, you asked my opinion of Mr. Morse as a preacher. I like him; and indeed, *so far*, he proves very acceptable to our people in general. He composes well, has many new and striking ideas, and there is something pleasing in his manner. He wants animation, but probably will have more of it after he has been longer in the ministry, and is more used to the people and the houses in which he speaks, but particularly when he is more weaned from

his manuscript; for you must know it is not the *fashion* among us for ministers to read *all* their sermons, as in New England, and a man who has been accustomed to reading will naturally feel embarrassed upon attempting to preach otherwise. In his doctrines, he is strictly Calvinistical. As a *man*, I am charmed with him. He is judicious and sensible, decent and modest in his deportment, a chearful companion, who prettily supports the dignity of the clergyman in the midst of friendly affability.

I find you have not a more exalted idea of the Monarch than I have. I should not be fond of a connection with him, unless I saw it clearly to be for my interest.

"The enclosed" has been forwarded. I took the liberty of making an alteration of *one* century in a date.

We have had a very disagreeable tumult here lately, but it has now subsided. Some of our medical tribe have plundered the dormitories of the dead, and, in a most indelicate manner, dissected the bodies of their inhabitants. Their conduct has for a long time given general offence; and last Sunday afternoon a body of people collected, forced their way into the hospital, seized two doctors (who were afterwards sent to jail), and destroyed all their apparatus, preparations, injections, &c., &c. So great was the ferment, that, before all was over, the Governour was obliged to call out the militia, to quell some folks who had determined to break the jail and glut their revenge upon the doctors. Three people lost their lives by the fire of the militia; and others, on both sides, were wounded. We are now quiet again, and the law will take its course with the culprits.

Our last accounts from Virginia are favourable. But I am almost too late for the post. Adieu.

Eben. Hazard.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

Boston, 18 April, 1788.

My dear Sir, — I fully understand your meaning when you speak of being in a hurry and full of business. I really have not had time to write to you since the receipt of your last till now. Yesterday was our annual Fast, which you know makes double work for us in the clerical line. This is a foul day, and I have been looking over all my unanswered letters. N. W.'s yet remains in the file, and will, till I hear again from Spotswood. Concerning Hammond's son, I have enquired, but can hear nothing more than that he was an officer in the army, a very clever fellow, and much ashamed of his father, who is, perhaps, as great a rascal as the world ever produced.

The negroes who were kidnapped here were sold at Martinico, and set to work, which they refused, and were flogged by their masters. In a few days Governour Hancock's and the French Consul's letters arrived, and the Governour of the island took the negroes under his protection, to be returned. Avery had disappeared, and the planters will lose their purchase-money, unless they can find him.

A similar scene, I am informed, has passed at Fairfield, in Connecticut. 8 negroes were carried off by one Willard.

Our law is passed, and I suppose will make its appearance in this day's paper. Some people are very angry about it. They say it will operate against the federal Constitution in Carolina. Clarkson's Essay is indeed a masterly performance, — the most complete and comprehensive piece that I have seen on the subject. I wish success to his farther endeavours, which are said to be making, to abolish the inhuman traffick.

Sunday evening, April 20.

I have kept this open till morning, but have nothing to add. The account about the negroes is as I heard it, but I cannot say on what authority it stands. We shall hear more of it, if it is so. My family are all well, and join in love to you and yours. My compliments to Mr. Morse. I received his with yours, but had before put up his MS. Pray let me know about him as a preacher, and how your congregation like him. I am, dear sir,

Yours affectionately,

JERE. BELKNAP.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

NEW YORK, April 30, 1788.

MY DEAR SIR, — Yours, enclosing Mr. Morse's MS., &c., came safe. I am obliged to our friend Waters for the pamphlet about the Humane Society. N. W. goes on publishing letters to himself. I wonder that I have got nothing of late from Spotswood for you. I have not met with your law about negroes; it is very seldom that I see a Boston paper. If the Postmaster-General prevents the circulation of newspapers, he does it *very effectually*.

Yes, Clarkson is a very clever fellow. He is still exerting himself in the cause of the Africans; and, from the accounts which we receive from England, it is probable that much will be done towards abolishing the slave-trade.

I have already given you my opinion of *the Rev.* Mr. Morse, both as a man and a preacher. Enclosed is a letter from him, and one which he requests you to forward to Mr. Pike.

From the accounts received from Maryland, we suppose their Convention adopted the New Constitution last Saturday. We do not understand that there are above 8 or 10 Anti-feds. in that body. A motion was made to debate the new Constitution by paragraphs,

which was rejected by 54 (it is said) against 5. We are told it had a first reading on Wednesday, a second on Thursday, and that the question was to be put on the whole on Saturday.

My family join me in love to you and yours. All well except mother, whom the rheumatism still excruciates.

I am, dear sir, yours affectionately,

EBEN. HAZARD.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

NEW YORK, May 8, 1788.

MY DEAR SIR, — I have left my wife at Dr. Rodgers's, and ran home to scratch an hasty line to you. Your remarks upon the feelings of a public speaker, and what is necessary to make them comfortable, are exactly such as I have made myself. I suggested to Mr. Morse your idea of an *American* Geography. He said several gentlemen had mentioned the same thing; and I believe he intends to take the hint. He is about publishing a small (or rather a compend of a) General Geography for the use of schools, which, it seems, is much called for. One edition, or something like it, has been already sold.

The Monarch (I think) ought to reign alone. Yes, we had terrible work; but the dead now sleep in peace again.

Mr. Wingate is well. I hear nothing said of him as a member of the Corps Diplomatique; but, if integrity is a recommendation, I think he ought to be esteemed. He does not appear to me to be a *profound* politician.

I congratulate you upon the adoption of the new Constitution by Maryland: yeas 63, nays 11. From *good* information from South Carolina, I learn that ¾ of their delegates are *federal*. Their Convention is to meet next Monday, the 12th inst. Accounts from Virginia are favourable. Love to Mrs. B., in which mother joins.

Yours, EBEN. HAZARD.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

New York, May 10, 1788.

My dear Sir, — The bundle for Dallas has been forwarded, and I am looking for a conveyance *by water* for Spotswood's letter, as that is the quickest, and equally safe with the post. I think S. has effectually tied your hands. After such candour, it would be inhuman to leave him. He evidently reposes great confidence in you, and writes like a man of sense and integrity. I have no personal knowledge of him, but his letter has made a very favourable impression upon my mind. I now return it.

The virulent pieces against me were generally written by Oswald, the printer of the Independent Gazetteer, published at Philadelphia. *He* wrote that in which my *designing* was mentioned. He was then in this city. I do not think R. H. L. had any thing to do with them. I suppose you are no stranger to Oswald's character: if you are, you may get some accurate information from the enclosed pamphlet, which I wish you to return when you have done with it. The enclosed part of an original letter, which I have lately received, relates to him. I wish you to have it printed in one of your papers, if you can have it done without the printer's knowing any person concerned in it. So far as I learn, from different quarters, Oswald's publications against the Department have had no effect. They are "*generally* regarded as the overflowings of anti-federal" gall, and as attempts to injure the new Constitution. As the hopes of the party fail, the attacks upon me become less frequent. They have had so little effect upon Congress that they have not directed any enquiry to be made. Two or three individual members have called, merely for their own satisfaction, and received it compleatly, for I shewed them a certificate from the contractor for carrying the mail between this place

and Philadelphia, that he called upon the printers in both cities (before he began to ride), and offered to carry their exchange papers *gratis;* another, from a man he employs, certifying that he did it in *his* presence; and another, from the Philadelphia printers themselves (Oswald was out of town then, but his foreman's name is among them), certifying that during the time the *Centinel* said the papers were withheld (while the Pennsylvania Convention were sitting) they were received as regularly as at other times. I shewed them, too, from the Acts of the British Parliament, that, even in England, newspapers are not considered as a part of the mail, but that the privilege of *franking* them is expressly reserved to the clerks in the post-office as their perquisite. All this might have appeared in the *newspapers* for my vindication; but I thought any thing more than the piece I sent you was unnecessary. It is a just remark I have heard made by Dr. Witherspoon, that "false reports will *die* much sooner than they can *be killed;*" and this, too, had weight with me. I felt, too, that my character was too well established to be injured by such attacks, made by such adversaries, and I knew that the attacks could not be directed against any point in which I was less vulnerable. For these reasons I have not published any thing except the "succinct state of facts," nor shall I "deign" to publish any thing more upon the same subject, unless new reasons may occur, of which I am at present ignorant. I had it in contemplation to *prosecute* Oswald in Pennsylvania, but friends whom I consulted dissuaded me from it, alledging that he was going down hill very fast, and that a prosecution would support him. The veracity of (I suppose *himself*) one of his correspondents has lately been disproved by "a Bostonian." It was asserted that a gentleman from New York had seen, in the papers of that place, an *answer from the General Court* of Massachusetts to the Governour's speech, in which they pointedly, and

in express terms, reprobated the proceedings of the Convention, both "General and State." The "Bostonian" disbelieved it, and called upon Oswald to write to his correspondent printer in New York for the paper, and then to publish *the answer*, which he did; and it turns out to be nothing more than an extract of a *Letter from Boston*, dated March 19, and published in Greenleaf's paper, in this city, the 24th, which the "Bostonian" has taken proper notice of. March 19th was *Wednesday;* and the 24th, *Monday*. Query: How did that letter reach New York, so as to appear there in print by 8 o'clock A.M. on Monday 24th? It could not have arrived by *post* before the 26th. The *stage* left Boston on Thursday the 20th, arrived at Hartford in the evening of Saturday, 22d, and does not travel on Sunday, and the letter could not have come from Hartford hither (130 miles) on *Monday* before 8 o'clock A.M. There was no arrival from *Rhode Island*, except one vessel, which left *Newport* the 19th, the day the letter is dated at Boston. So much for anti-federal veracity. I believe the letter was wrote here.

I have mentioned Greenleaf. He is *our* anti-federal printer; a poor, thick-sculled creature, and so much in debt to Oswald for his printing-office as not to dare to offend him. I suspect this made him anti-federal. *He* has got into a scrape, too; but, as the story is too long for me to tell, I will *lend* you the papers. Return them, when you have read them. In short, the poor Anti-feds. seem to have got almost to "the length of their tether," as Governour Hutchinson said. The Maryland majority has staggered them very much. South Carolina will repeat the blow, and I think Virginia will give them the *coup de grace*. We cannot tell how our election has gone in this State, as the ballots will not be opened and counted before the latter end of this month. I think it doubtful whether Feds. or Antis. will be most numerous in Convention, though I have little doubt that they will adopt

the Constitution. It is probable that some may propose to have the breeches altered before they try them on; but I fancy the majority will be for wearing them as they are. I believe F. H. wrote the piece about the breeches.

Near Dummer School, in Newbury, is a limestone quarry; and between the strata of limestone a species of asbestos is found, of which I think I sent you a specimen formerly. I want 3 lb. or 4 lb. of this asbestos. Can you contrive to get it for me, and send it per post? It is of no value there, and I want it to make some experiments upon. If they succeed, they will probably make it valuable.

Mr. Morse told me, yesterday, he was inclined to think he should attend to the hint of making his geography *American*.

We are all well, and unite in love to Mrs. B. and yourself. I am, dear sir,

Yours affectionately,

EBEN. HAZARD.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

NEW YORK, May 15, 1788.

MY DEAR SIR, — Mr. Carey has informed me that Mr. Thomas Reynolds has gone to Boston to solicit subscriptions for the Musæum, and requested me to aid him by my recommendation. I think the undertaking deserves encouragement, and therefore recommend it to your patronage. You know my friends: recommend it to them.

The Philadelphia printers, some time since, petitioned their Assembly about newspapers, which they alleged could not be sent by post in consequence of a regulation made by the Postmaster-General. It was referred to a committee, and the House finally (as appears by *the newspapers*) resolved that a copy should be sent to their delegates, with instructions to make full enquiry into the truth of the facts; and if the abuse complained of shall,

on such enquiry, be found to exist, that the delegates use their best endeavours in Congress to *obtain redress of the same.* One of the delegates told me to-day that no such thing had come on yet; and, *inter nos,* he hinted a doubt whether the Assembly had come to any resolution about it. The petition is said to have been presented on the 24th, and read a second time on the 27th *March;* so that there has been time enough to send it on. The petition has got into the papers, so that I suppose it will circulate, and you will see it. My publication, I think, contains a full answer to it, and I suppose the President (Dr. Franklin), knowing the petition to mis-state facts, has paid no attention to it.

The time is come for attending a meeting of the Society for the manumission of slaves, so I must bid you good-bye. EBEN. HAZARD.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

BOSTON, May 15, 1788.

MY DEAR SIR, — You was very good to leave your wife at Dr. Rodgers's, that you might go home to write to me. I have frequently left company for the same reason; and I doubt not our feelings on such occasions are nearly alike.

We have had *a ringing* on the adoption of the Constitution by Maryland. In imitation of John Bull, we *make as much noise as we can,* when we feel joyful. I think bell-ringing is a northern way of expressing joy. England and Russia are famous for it. But what an uncertain sound is a bell! Fire, death, joy, dinner, public worship, town-meetings, and what not, all set it a-going, and we are often puzzled to know what it is for. When the ringing began for Maryland, on Tuesday last week, people ran to see where the fire was. So it was when Connecticut ratified the Constitution.

Mr. Pike has sent a letter for Mr. Morse, which I inclose. I have thanked Mr. Avery in his name, and told him to hold himself in readiness to answer more queries. He is a good-natured fellow, and ready to do good offices.

My friend and neighbour, Waters, has given me a memorandum for a book of military exercises, which he wishes you would get for him as soon as possible, and let him know the price. He is an ardent lover of military matters; and I suppose wants to introduce something new into the *Ancient and Honourable Artillery Company* before he goes out of office, which will be the first Monday in June.

Mrs. B. has been gone to a groaning ever since midnight. It is now 4 P.M., and she is not yet returned.

Adieu. Love to your wife and mother and children.

Your affectionate friend,

JERE. BELKNAP.

That I may not omit any thing which would contribute to your entertainment, I will fill this (otherwise) blank cover with a few specimens of New Hampshire eloquence, extracted from a lately published oration on education, delivered at the last Burlesque upon Commencement, exhibited at a certain *sylvan* academy. The author has not dignified the performance with his name; but, in a prefixed advertisement, he informs his readers that he "has not *affected* a florid style, or the beauties of composition." How far he has steered clear of such affectation, you may judge from the following passages: "Education has a natural tendency to promote every good that has respect to this life, and to further the happiness of that which is to come; while, on the other hand, the want of it leaves an open *door* for every vile principle to send forth its *stream*, and every foul *seed* sown in Nature's garden to spring up and bring forth fruit, that tends to strengthen

the adamantine chains of darkness, and to bar the *everlasting gates of joy and felicity*.

"There is a duty incumbent on parents towards their children, which the God of Nature dictates, and is taught them, in some measure, by the wild beasts of the field; even the nutrition of their bodies. But yet there is a second duty, of infinitely more importance; that is, their education. This duty concerns every parent, as they will free themselves from the guilt of their final undoing, prevent those blooming *flowers* from becoming *thorns*, that will pierce the *eyeballs* of their fond and pleasing hopes. In these respects and many others, education stands in near relation to *that ever blooming morn that* treads on the heels of time.

"Our eyes have seen, our ears have heard, and our fathers have told us, how education exalted the land of their nativity. But, alas! those halcyon days are over and gone, and we feel the dire effects; else what meaneth this din of war in our land, with garments rolled in blood! this train of Brittain's artillery put in array against us! those lightnings that flash from her *brazen batteries*, and the thunders that brake from those smokey columns, with storms pregnant with *leaden hail*, promiscous instruments of death.

(Excellent rhetoric, but super-excellent *logic*.)

"He that arrives to a degree of perfection in literature may, at leisure, delight his soul in contemplating the grandeur and sublimity of Nature, in her various productions, and *through* that *mirror* descry the Deity." This metaphor, I apprehend, is borrowed from that sterling production of the late tutor, but now *president*, of this renowned hot-bed of literature. I mean an "Oration on Poetry, Music, and Painting," delivered at the Commencement, in 1774.* "The mind, no longer engrossed by

* "Essay on the Beauties and Excellencies of Painting, Music, and Poetry," &c., by John Wheelock, President of Dartmouth College, Hartford, 1774. — Eds.

puerile vanities, disdains all sordid amusements, but sits majestic. Then, in the palace of reason, it views the grandeur and sublimity of Nature, and *through* that *mirror* kens the Deity." And again: "When we attempt to scan the dignity of human nature, shunning with care the expansion of infinitude, we should turn to the arts and sciences, those *transparent mirrors*, which, like the stars in the firmament, scatter diffusive a lustre borrowed from the mind of man."

What excellent proficients, under such excellent preceptors! But I have done exciting your laughter, vexation, and pity with their execrable balderdash; yet 'tis proper it should be known, that they may appear what they are, for they make no secret of their nonsense.

I intended this for the outside cover of my letter, but I have already stuffed it so full that I had as well fill it out and use another. I do not desire to have it known that *I* speak so freely of the above-mentioned place and persons; but I think it is a great pity either that such an institution was ever made, or that it is not better managed. The views of the persons concerned in erecting it were very different. The late G., I believe, however I may be censured for believing so, was a generous friend of science, and would have been highly pleased to have seen arts and sciences flourishing within his government. He looked upon that part of the (then) Province as destined by nature to be the most populous and rich, and rejoiced at the opportunity which presented itself of establishing a seminary of learning, which he endowed, so far as he was able (by grants of land, and by procuring donations), with a property stable, and capable of improvement, so that in time it might stand on its own legs, without any foreign assistance. So far the design was laudable and the prospect inviting. But — but — but — time and experience have proved that a selfish, contracted spirit, aided by ignorance and folly, is capable of thwarting the

most generous designs, and substituting nonsense and enthusiasms in the place of learning and wisdom. The said president is reputed the writer of a lately printed versification, entitled *America Invincible.** I have not seen it, but understand it is of a piece with his oration, in which there are some rhythmical ebullitions interlarded.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

New York, May 17, 1788.

My dear Sir, — I thank you for the Centinel enclosed in yours of 11th inst. Russell has acted like a candid man, and you will oblige me by thanking him for doing *me* so much justice. He has rightly accounted for all the *Philadelphian* abuse of me, and *that* gave rise to all which issued from more distant presses. It was natural enough for printers in distant parts of the Union to suppose, if their papers came irregularly, that it was owing to some unfriendly regulation in the post-office, especially when it was asserted by a brother printer near the *head-quarters* of the Union; but what surprises me is, that the printers did not see the *improbability* of the charge brought against the P. M. G., which was that he prohibited the circulation of newspapers containing *anti-federal* pieces, while he promoted that of those which contained *federal*. To do this, he must of course examine *all the papers that were published*, which would fully occupy all his time and put it out of his power to do any part of his proper business. A moment's reflection must have shewn them that the charge was false; and had they attended to this circumstance, that General Washington, Dr. Franklin, and others of our most respectable characters, to whom the Union is under the greatest obligations, were abused by the same writers, at the same time, and for

* See Catalogue of the Library of this Society, I. 32. — Eds.

the same cause (*i.e.*, being Federalists), they could have had no doubt about the *reason* why the charge was made. To blackguard *me*, in such company, was really doing me honour, though it was done unintentionally. I suspect Mr. Russel has been misinformed about the mail carriers between this city and Hartford. From the character of the contractor, as well as some personal knowledge of him, I do not believe he would be concerned in, or permit, such conduct as is alledged. However, though this is a matter with which I have no business, properly speaking, yet, as Mr. Russel has behaved so much like a gentleman with respect to me, I will enquire of the contractor about it when I can see him. But I believe the most of the newspapers are sent by stage, as Greenleaf (one of our printers) informed the public some time ago that his were sent in that way. Russel is wrong, if he supposes the stages *generally* will do to carry the mail. In point of care, they might do to the eastward of this city; and, had the proprietors asked a reasonable price, they would have got it; but they demanded 3,014$\frac{66}{90}$ dollars, and I have it done now for 1,790, by men who are at every expence on account of the mail, whereas the proprietors of the stages would be at no extra expence on that account. For this reason, the *Eastern* stages lost the mail. Between this city and Philadelphia, stages *cannot* carry the mail so expeditiously as riders, for these travel night and day; besides, the drivers were so careless and inattentive to the mail, that I had a vast many complaints from passengers, among whom were some members of Congress. Indeed, even the passengers and baggage were so much neglected that the proprietors lost custom by it, and have since acknowledged it in the newspapers, and promised amendment. But enough of this. I give you the information merely that you may be able to *talk* upon these subjects, should you hear them mentioned in conversation. I must add that it was while the *stages* carried the mail

that the "Centinel" complained, in the Philadelphia papers, that the "Conspirators" prevented the circulation of anti-federal papers by means of the post-office.

I will deliver your message to Mr. Morse. Yes, I have the debates in your Convention. My friend Hastings sent them as soon as published.

From the resolves of the last meeting of the directors of the Ohio Company, I supposed our friend Cutler must go soon. I should not be fond of going to live there before the settlers had enjoyed one year's profound peace. In my opinion, he cannot give the new city a more proper name than *Protepolis*. *Urania* seems to be quite out of the way. *Tempè* would, I think, do much better. But I wanted something *original*. *In this view*, *Genesis* would do. There are *Montgomerys* already. The streets are to be wide.

Well, as I told you, the Philadelphia printer's petition is circulating. It was published here to-day. Russel's publication will be a good reply to it, and I suppose *some* of our printers will have grace enough to give it a place. His so plumply denying the assertion that "the reasons, &c.," did not reach Boston till your Convention had determined upon the Constitution, will mortify the Anti-feds. in Philadelphia not a little; and I think the Feds. will crow upon it.

Miss Breese is here. The Judge has lately had a fit of the gout. The rest are well, as are all my family, who love you and yours unfeignedly. I am,

Your friend,

EBEN. HAZARD.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

NEW YORK, May 27, 1788.

DEAR SIR, — I have yours of 18th and 20th May. It will not do for you to enquire why the "Extract" did not appear. Let it take its fate.

Greenleaf is a Bostonian. I am told his father lives now in your town. The young man went privateering in the war, was several times taken, and, I believe, as often made his escape. He was in France. I have been told he was bound to Thomas, at Worcester, but ran away from him, and worked awhile with Carter, at Providence.

We are sorry to hear of your indisposition. Mrs. H. says mallows tea will be good for you. She finds castor oil (a vegetable oil expressed from the seeds of the *Palma Christi*) a sovereign antidote to the *cholic*. It is a valuable family medicine (a cathartic), and perfectly safe. Dose, about a tablespoonful; and wine makes a good vehicle. The whitest and clearest oil is the best, being most free from rancidity. It comes from the West Indies.

Dr. Rush has merit in attempting to banish the abuse of spirituous liquors; but I feel he will be unsuccessful.

The letter to Carey is forwarded. So is Young's. I have enquired at the stage house, but can hear nothing of your bundle.

I thank you for the Blacksmith's Letter. As I have one in my farrago, I have given the one you sent to my friend Morse, who is now here, and sends his compliments to you.

We hear nothing from Carolina yet, but have no doubt that matters will terminate favourably there, if they have not already done so. I reserved the enclosed for you, and forgot to send it before.

Nothing new. All well, and unite in love to you and yours, with your affectionate friend,

EBEN. HAZARD.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

NEW YORK, May 31, 1788.

MY DEAR SIR, — Yours of the 15th inst. I found to-day among my *unanswered* letters, which surprised and mor-

tified me very much; for in it was Mr. Pike's to Mr. Morse, and our friend Waters's request for a copy of Steuben's Exercise. It must have arrived during my late indisposition; and, being unable to attend to it then, I have forgotten it since. I immediately went and delivered the letter to Mr. Morse, with a suitable apology; but what shall I say to Waters? Say every thing that is necessary for me.

I have received a letter, with some asbestos, from Mr. Pike. From his account, I suspect my scheme will prove abortive, as my intention was to have the asbestos *spun*, and made into gloves, stockings, pocket-handkerchiefs, &c.; but he tells me he once intended to have gloves made of it, but found it *too short to spin*. However, I shall not give up yet. The packet for Mr. Morse, enclosed in yours of 24th inst., is delivered to him. What the consequence may be, I do not know. He was called to us merely as a kind of *stated supply*, as our Presbytery have but few candidates and a number of vacancies within their limits, and the winter season rendered the seasonable arrival among us of supplies appointed by Presbytery very uncertain. Our congregation are not in an hurry to *fix a minister* among them, as they wish for an opportunity of sufficient trial to enable them to make a prudent choice. Hitherto Mr. Morse has given great satisfaction to the serious part of our congregation, and some of them have hinted at giving him a call; but this idea does not seem yet to have occurred to the "*generality*." There is another gentleman here (a Mr. Muir, a Scotch minister from Bermuda), who has preached to us occasionally, and is an acceptable preacher, too. Some among us have him in their eye. This is our situation, from which you will see that nothing certain can be determined.

We have nothing from Carolina yet, except that they had gone through the consideration of the new Consti-

tution on the 22d May, when a motion was made for an adjournment till October, which was opposed by 135 against 89, and we are told the grand question was to be determined the next day. We do not know how the votes for Convention have gone in this State yet. In this city, the Feds. have a prodigious majority; but I suspect the counties will be mostly anti-federal. The Governour had but 134 votes in the city.

Enclosed is a letter from Philadelphia.

Give love to Mrs. Belknap from Mrs. H. and

Your friend,

EBEN. HAZARD.

P. S. My compliments to Mr. Carey, of Charlestown, when you see him.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

June 5, 1788.

DEAR SIR, — It is so near time to close the mail that I can hardly do more than send you the enclosed. South Carolina has adopted the new Constitution, 149 for, 73 against it. Russel must put up the 8th pillar. We have a great majority of Anti-feds. in our Convention, but don't despair yet. All well. I am,

Yours, EBEN. HAZARD.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

NEW YORK, June 26, 1788.

DEAR SIR, — I am glad your disorder left you so soon, and so civilly. Mine was a pain over my right eye; the remains (as I take it) of a disorder which attacked me about 25 years ago, when a suppuration took place, and my eye (or rather forehead, at the eyebrow) was lanced,

and a copious discharge took place. Whenever my mind is much worried, and I think intensely, I have the same kind of pain, which totally unfits me for business or society.

The asbestos, I fear, cannot be spun. Several ladies, skilled in that business, say it will not do.

I do not recollect any thing in my MSS. which will give you the information you want about Sir F. Gorges. However, I send my collection for the Province of Maine, that you may look for yourself. In Lib. 1, p. 7, that he was dead in December, 1651.

An express from Poughkeepsie, yesterday, brought us the glad tidings of New Hampshire having adopted the new Constitution, and we had ringing of bells, firing of guns, &c., &c. I did expect "the Ancient Dominion" would have been the keystone of the arch; but New Hampshire has deprived them of that honour. Our accounts from Virginia are not very flattering. I suspect there will be but a bare majority, and some seem doubtful even of that. However, I cannot but hope their vote will be favourable, especially as nine States have agreed, and the new political machine will be set in motion. Should they join the nine, it is of little importance to the Union how New York votes.

Enclosed is a letter from Dr. Rush. He has lately been publishing a Plan for a Clerical Association, of which I suppose he sends you a copy.

My mother is confined to her room, and Mrs. H. has something like the rheumatism in her head. The rest are well. Give their love to Mrs. B., as well as that of

Your friend,

EBEN. HAZARD.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

New York, July 3, 1788.

My dear Sir, — The ratification of the new Constitution by New Hampshire was an important and very pleasing event; and she has acquired by it the honour of being the keystone of the Federal arch. She has fairly got to windward of the Ancient Dominion, and added to the honour of New England. You will see, by the enclosed, that the Dominion is on the same side of the question. Where New York will be, nobody knows. Appearances at present seem to indicate an intention to adjourn, under an idea of consulting constituents, which may furnish a reason for adopting at the next meeting. Your professor has behaved badly indeed. "He that makes haste to be rich shall not be innocent," is an assertion which is often verified. It is strange that men cannot be satisfied with honestly acquired wealth. Think of honest Robert, and help him all you can. Have you ever heard of the coal tar? I send you a pamphlet upon the subject, to add to your collection. Have you ever seen *Major* Washington's Journal, kept by him in 1753, when the Governour of Virginia sent him to the French Commandant on Ohio? * Mr. Morse has lent me it, and says he will lend it to you, if you have not seen it.

Sam is worrying me to go and walk with him. What proficiency has Jo made?

My mother continues to be very ill. Mrs. H. and the rest are well. We all love you and yours sincerely.

There are to be wonderful works in Philadelphia tomorrow, and we mean to make some uproar here. I am, dear sir, Yours, Eben. Hazard.

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* See Vol. I. p. 164. — Eds.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

New York, July 17, 1788.

My dear Sir, — I watched an opportunity of conveying yours to the Monarch's hands, *as you desired*, and succeeded. The answer you gave was a very proper one, in my opinion.

The Maine papers came safe to hand. I know not who or what *Rigby* was, except that he was, undoubtedly, a very great man, — in his own opinion. I thought of his being Gorges's son-in-law, but Gorges died *before August*, 1650.*

I am glad the Virginia news reached you in proper time. We have the same kind of *joyful uproars* here that you have, and I am sick of them.

So the old Doctor has left off punning at last. What must the grave spirits in heaven think on the approach of so ludicrous an one as his? I did not know that P. had been aiming at a mitre. Rush's "notion" of a Clerical Congress I think would be a good one, if the reverend gentlemen could be restrained within proper limits; otherwise, such a combination would be formidable and dangerous. Rush says: "We are not far enough advanced in vice or poverty to make a foundling hospital proper in any of the cities of America." Perhaps he is right; and perhaps such an institution would advance us in both. Would it not operate as a premium for fornication?

All your enclosures have been forwarded. If *the editor* is a *brother*, the oration will not be thought worth two guineas.

Dr. Ebenezer Crosby (to whom I believe old Colonel Quincy, of Braintree, was guardian) died yesterday, of a consumption.

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* Sir F. Gorges died in 1647. He was buried on the 14th of May. — Eds.

My mother is so ill that I have thought it advisable to send for my sister, from Philadelphia. The rest of us are well.

Our Convention is yet sitting; it is impossible to conjecture how they will determine. I am told they talk of both *conditional* amendments and an adjournment.

Love to Mrs. B., from

Yours,

EBEN. HAZARD.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

BOSTON, July 24, 1788.

MY DEAR SIR, — I thank you, as for all favours, so particularly for conveying my answer to *the Monarch*. I have this week, and not before, had sight of all his magazines, and find he is very sanguine in the opinion that Fernando Soto erected the fortifications lately found at Muskingum and other places. I have just got hold of an account of Soto's expedition in Purchas, which is, *I believe, the original* from whence the account that he depends upon is taken, and think it is possible to prove that he is mistaken in several points, and that his conclusion is a *non sequitur*. I may possibly furnish a dissertation for the Columbian on this subject. One thing, however, I want to be ascertained* of; and that is, how far southward the herds of buffaloes are found. For it is positively asserted in this account that, though they had some of the skins of these creatures brought to them by the Indians, yet they did not go so far northward as where they are found. Now, my friend, keeping this for the present as a literary secret, will you be so kind as to enquire of Mr. Hutchins, or any other capable informer, concerning the utmost southern range of this herd of animals: this

* Used in the sense of "assured." — EDS.

will assist me in a material point. I also should be very glad to have Hutchins's map and description of Florida; for I believe I could delineate Soto's route, and fancy it would not extend farther northward than North Carolina. However, I would not be sanguine. I will inform you more of [my] mind by and bye, and in time you shall know the whole.

Can you tell me *all* the places where these fortifications are found, and the description of them?

If Cutler has not gone from you before this reaches you, put him in mind to make these enquiries.

Rush has written to me on the subject of the proposed hospital here, as he did to you. Our committee have not yet met again: when they do, I shall lay before them what he says.

I suspect from your letter that your mother is about to leave you, as mine did me, 4 years ago. It is a pleasing sight for such good old folks to die *tranquil and easy*. I never think of my mother's death but with a soothing, placid serenity: the result of her own feelings impressed deeply on my mind.

Old Daddy Quincy * died here about the time that you mention Dr. Crosby did at New York. He was buried the day before Dr. Byles.

Mrs. B. joins in love to you and Mrs. Hazard, with, dear sir, your affectionate friend,

JERE. BELKNAP.

The inclosed is to invite Mr. Morse to Charlestown.

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* Edmund Quincy, the father of Mrs. John Hancock, who died July 4, aged eighty-five. — EDS.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

Sunday evening, July 27, 1788.

Dear Sir, — We were informed last night from Poughkeepsie that the Convention of this State had adopted the new Constitution unconditionally, by a majority of six, in consequence of which the *bells were rung* till midnight.

On Wednesday last, we had a grand procession. On Thursday, Greenleaf ridiculed it in his paper, and gave great offence. A number of his subscribers dropped his paper; and last night, during the rejoicing, a body of people collected at his door. I am told he fired among them, and wounded one man, and that they broke his windows, burst into his house, and destroyed his types. He made his escape by a back way. Oswald, the typographical Cain of Philadelphia, has been confined in jail since the 15th inst.; is to remain there till the 15th of next month, and to pay a fine of £10 for *contempt of the court*. He and his friends are trying to make the public consider this as an attack upon the liberty of the press; but the design is understood, and nothing on the subject appears, either pro or con, except in his own paper. He is generally despised.

Mr. Morse has had a violent attack of the cholera morbus this week, but is getting over it. My mother continues very ill. My daughter is not well. The rest of us enjoy usual health. Love to Mrs. B. Yours,

Eben. Hazard.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

Boston, 2d August, 1788.

My dear Sir, — Your last confirmed the news for which our bells had rung the day before. We are ex-

treamly happy that New York has come in. I imagine that a history of the transactions at Poughkeepsie for a month past would be a curiosity. Every southerly wind, we expect, will bring us like good news from North Carolina.

This week has also been distinguished by another event; viz., the return of the three negroes who were kidnapped from hence, as I wrote you last winter. It caused a jubilee among the blacks. Pity that the rascal who carried them off could not be apprehended. It is said he has lately been at Baltimore. However, his coadjutors here will be hawled over the coals.

These negroes, the morning after their arrival, made me a visit, being introduced by Prince Hall. "There," said Prince to the negroes, "there is the gentleman who has been so much your friend." This was in consequence of the share I had in petitioning, as you know, during which, and since, I had some conferences with Prince on the subject. The fellows thanked me with a simplicity and sincerity which gave me exquisite pleasure; and I may say it to you, that this pleasure is much more than a balance for all the curses of the African dealers, distillers, &c., which have been liberally bestowed upon the clergy of this town for promoting the late law against their detestable traffick!

Hastings tells me he has sent you one of Minot's books.* It is something of a venture to write the history of *living* men and recent transactions. He has done it with candor, and in a pleasing manner; but I had rather write of dead men and facts long passed, where there is no fear of galling. Minot has brought *Honestus* upon him already, and it is probable many more of the wasps will sting him. But he is a clever fellow, and what he has

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* "The History of the Insurrections in Massachusetts in the year 1786," by George Richards Minot. — Eds.

done will contribute to his advancement. He is a young lawyer, and a clerk to the House of Representatives.

A gentleman, who has lately arrived from France, says that the commotions there are very serious; that their men of intelligence have, ever since the part they took in our affairs, been looking into their own rights and the principles of their Constitution, and are determined to have things put on their ancient footing. Power and privilege will probably be at handycuffs again. So it was in the days of Nimrod, and so it has been ever since.

I hear *the Monarch* (not of France) intends to honour this town with a visit. I had much rather see Mr. Morse, and hope he is by this time recovered of his ill turn. Your mother, considering her age, I suspect is going to leave you. I wish her, from my heart, an easy passage through the dark valley, and an open entrance to the regions of light and blessedness.

Sunday evening, August 3.

I have this day been at Roxbury old church; and, in the interval of service, have been looking over the ancient church records, written by Weld, Danforth, and Eliot. Some things there are very curious, and some which corroborate an idea which I have long had, and which I have heard you express, concerning the treatment which captive Indians met with from our otherwise good forefathers. Old father Eliot appears as an honest man, and expresses a parental affection for the unhappy Indians, and would have saved the life of one in particular, if he could; but the then Governour was inexorable. *Humanum est errare!*

Adieu, my friend. Mrs. B. joins in most affectionate salutations.

Yours sincerely, JERE. BELKNAP.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

New York, August 7, 1788.

My dear Sir, — It *was* "a mercy that the New York Convention did not hold their session before that of your State and Virginia;" and, indeed, all things respecting the new Constitution have been mercifully ordered so far. From the evident interposition of Heaven in its favour, I please myself with the idea that it will answer the purposes intended.

No Cutler yet! Where does the man stay? I want much to see him, and have a long conversation with him.

The Monarch's opinion about Soto's expedition seems to be one of his hobby-horses, and a very favourite one, too. Captain Hutchins tells me the herds of buffaloes are found as far southward as "*down to the Bay of Mexico.*" I have his map, and pamphlet containing a description of Florida, but cannot send them to you, as the former, being large, would be ruined by the transportation, and the latter forms part of a thick 8vo volume. Hutchins says the fortifications are found up the Mississippi, Monongahela, James River, Potowmack, and Delaware; and his opinion is that they were all made by the same persons.

My good mother still languishes, and from appearances will leave us soon. Death will not find her unprepared to meet him.

Enclosed is a letter from Mr. Morse, which should have gone by last post, but I could not write then. Bernard Romans published a chart of the coast of Florida, and the 1st Vol. (12mo) of the History. I esteemed both catch-penny performances, and, from a personal acquaintance with the man, had not confidence enough in his information to think his History worth reading. I have it; and, if *you* choose to read it, I will send it.

Congress have been a week debating about the place for the new Congress to *meet* at. Philadelphia was proposed, and lost it; Lancaster (in Pennsylvania) too. Baltimore carried it, but lost it on reconsideration. New York was inserted in the blank, having $7\frac{1}{2}$ States in its favour. To-day Rhode Island refuses to vote on the *whole ordinance*, and all is undone again for the present. I often meet with proofs of Solomon's wisdom!

Love to Mrs. B. and yourself from Mrs. H. and your friend, EBEN. HAZARD.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

NEW YORK, August 21, 1788.

MY DEAR SIR, — I thank you and Mrs. Belknap for your anxiety on my account. The *titles* were nearly enough alike to occasion an error in an inattentive reader. But, though I have hitherto escaped, death has made a breach in my family by removing my good mother from us. She died last Friday night, having set us a bright example of both faith and patience.

Mr. Morse is at Elizabethtown, whither I sent the letter for him. His time with us has expired.

The report of the rejection of the new Constitution by North Carolina is not confirmed, and a gentleman who left *Wilmington* the 1st inst. says it cannot be true. He saw letters from members of the Convention at Hillsborough, dated but three days before, which informed that they had gone through the business of the contested elections, and just entered on the Constitution, which was to [be] debated *by paragraphs*.

My little girl is very sick, and Mrs. Hazard is not well. Close confinement and application to business have impaired my health, and induced a degree of debility to

which I have been hitherto a stranger. Mrs. H. joins in love to Mrs. B. and yourself with, dear sir,

Your real friend,

EBEN. HAZARD.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

NEW YORK, August 26, 1788.

MY DEAR SIR, — I see in the Philadelphia papers a letter about the 3 *negroes*, which I know to be yours, from its being almost *in totidem verbis* with one to myself. Whether the "African dealers, distillers," &c. (who, I suppose, will see it soon in the Boston papers), will thank *the "clergyman* upon whom *Prince Hall waited*, who *petitioned the Court*," for his interference, is doubtful. I did not think it *prudent* to publish it here, least you might be rendered obnoxious to some folks in Boston by it. I am much pleased with *Minot's* performance. There is a degree of impartiality and independence of spirit in it, which does him honour. If you took extracts from the church records about the treatment of captive Indians, I wish you would lend them to me, for I want to be satisfied upon that subject. The forefathers of New England had their failings, as well as other men; but *we* have no right to censure them. I wish we could leave as many proofs on record, for posterity, of our prudence, our patriotism, and our piety, as they have.

I do not know all the members of the Philological Society, though I have understood that they are not numerous. The Monarch reigns supreme, and some of his subjects (I am told) have had only an English education. How they will succeed in establishing a "Federal Language," time must determine.

The Columbian must be obliged to you for your exertions. If it lives, I think it will owe its life to you.

Carey was here a day or two ago. He told me you had got the paper for him. He deserves encouragement. My old acquaintance, and your new one, has got to be a *regular* correspondent; and, from an hint he has dropped to me, I suspect he intends to continue it. This I have no objection against, but I do not like *my instrumentality* in the business. Though I am not sensible that it is wrong, yet I do not feel altogether as if it was right. You understand me.

Mrs. Hazard and my daughter are better, though not yet well. The former unites her best wishes for yourself and Mrs. Belknap with those of

Your friend,

Eben. Hazard.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

New York, September 2, 1788.

My dear Sir, — Your remarks on Soto's expedition came safe to hand. Captain Hutchins has gone to the Westward, so that I could not take his opinion of them; but I read them to Colonel Morgan, who is nearly as well acquainted with that country as Captain Hutchins, and was much pleased with them. He objected against: "And the *proper season* for hunting them [buffaloes] is in November and December, the very months in which Soto marched from Mavilla northward." He says there is no particular season that can, with propriety, be called *the proper season* for hunting them, as they are hunted at all seasons, when necessity calls for it. He says that, when he was down there (before the war), if they wanted the buffaloes for their *tallow*, they hunted them in summer; if for their *flesh*, in winter; and added that, if the buffaloes were to be killed when Soto arrived there, their skins would not do for coverlets, not being dressed; and that to dress them as the Indians do requires con-

siderable time. He therefore advised me to obliterate that sentence, as not answering your purpose, which I have done. He also advised me to leave out *Delaware* in the account of places where forts are found (he thinks Captain Hutchins must be mistaken in that instance), and to insert "several branches of Youghiogany," which I have done. I have also made the alteration you suggested in the time of Soto's march. No error occurred to *me;* and indeed, my mind is so perplexed by being overloaded, that an error must be very palpable before I could perceive it. I will retain the MS. till I receive your farther directions about it.

Love to Mrs. B. from Mrs. H. and

EBEN. HAZARD.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

NEW YORK, Sept. 9, 1788.

MY DEAR SIR, — I sympathize with you in the afflictions of your family, but hope this will find your son restored to health again, as my daughter is. I thank you for your advice respecting myself, but it is impossible for me to follow it. My masters keep me so closely at work that it is impossible for me to take proper exercise; and, when I ask for help, instead of granting it, they encrease my burden. I cannot help suspecting that one of them wants to be my successor, and is trying to *work* me out of his way; and, really, I would not be long in it, if I could see any other way of maintaining my family reputably, which at present I cannot. I have had thoughts of hiring a farm, and retiring into the woods, where I may at least enjoy liberty, and that not without some hopes of independence; and Cutler's "Indian Heaven" (where I own a seat) has been more than half seriously in contemplation; but when I reflect that the present Confederation, with its rascally appendages, are near expiring,

and that there is a prospect of some stability and respectability under the new Constitution, I conclude to wait (if I can) till that takes place, in hopes of better times. You ask me why I cannot visit you this autumn? What I have said already will serve to answer the question. As an addendum, I tell you it is near three years since I have been out of sight of the city of New York. From this you may conjecture that there is more of necessity than choice in my staying so much at home.

I did not think it adviseable to prefix *your name* to the remarks on Soto's Expedition, least it might make you a surer mark for the *Monarch*, or any other fierce man, to shoot at. Notwithstanding his assertion, I think it probable that our congregation will part with Mr. Morse. He appears to me to be highly acceptable to a great majority of them; but there are so many fond of Mr. Muir, that I suspect the peace of the congregation will require that both should leave us. Mr. Morse has preached for us, in all, five months. Mr. Muir was then invited for three, which will expire a few weeks hence. The Church Session, last week, agreed to invite Mr. Morse for three months more, commencing at the expiration of Mr. Muir's; but the invitation is not put into his hands, and I do not think it will be immediately, but that the report of it will circulate among the congregation, that their sentiments may be known.

The Monarch thinks of going to live in *Boston*. He speaks highly of *Thomas* as a printer, &c., from which I suspect there is to be some connection between them.

The North Carolina news lowered securities 6*d.* in the £ *here*, too; but that is a short-lived business.

Thank you for the extracts from Roxbury Records: they shall not be communicated. If you get any thing from *Mather*, do let me have it. Have you ever yet met with any thing certain about *Philip's* wife and son?

Your letter to R. has got into the New Haven paper.

It will be sufficient, I believe, if you hint to him that your friend H. thinks there is an impropriety in his being the medium of intercourse between you, *on account of his office*. Perhaps *I* may hint it to him, too.

I will look over the Records of the United Colonies for anecdotes about Eliot, and communicate what I find.

Congress have not yet fixed the place for the new Congress to meet at. The choice of three Commissioners of Accounts was the order of this day, and it is said there are no less than 17 or 18 persons in nomination.

Mrs. H. joins me in love to Mrs. B. and yourself. I am, dear sir, Yours affectionately,

EBEN. HAZARD.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

New York, Sept. 13, 1788.

MY DEAR SIR, — By yours of 6th inst., you have added another to the many proofs you have already given me of your friendship; but I *cannot* take your advice. *Inter nos*, I have reason to believe that somebody, believing the philosophical doctrine of *solidity*, is fully satisfied that two bodies cannot occupy the same space at the same time; and, having a partiality for the space I occupy, wishes to get me out of it, that he may get in. Who it is I know not, but suspect, from what has happened, that he may be one of my masters; somebody, I dare say, who never risqued his neck *pro bono publico*, as I did in 1776, and afterwards, but sees something tempting in a public station *now*, and more especially under the new Constitution, when an office will be respectable, and perhaps permanent, and officers will not be so liable to be p——d upon by every puppy that comes into power. I suspect the scheme has been to increase my labour beyond my strength, without allowing me any additional help, and thus force me to decline the service, or else to leave part

of my duty unperformed, and then be liable to censure for non-performance. Another part of the plan seems to have been to worry me, and distract my attention, by frequently calling for a variety of information, the giving whereof was particularly perplexing, considering how frequently I must have been interrupted by other indispensable calls of official duty. When I had reason to suspect unfair play, I was *determined* not to quit the office; though, from the neglect with which my applications for assistance had been treated for several years, and the difficulty I found in doing my duty, I had had thoughts of it before; and I have accordingly stuck to it. There are so many watching for my halting, that I am obliged to walk very circumspectly; and, for this reason, I cannot leave home even for a day. Should I be called for, and found to be absent, it would be an unpardonable sin; and I am resolved to commit none such. A few months more will put an end to the struggle between the *ins* and *outs*, and I think I can make out to stand it for that time. Mr. Wingate is to set out to-morrow afternoon for Philadelphia, to return next Thursday, and the next day start for New Hampshire. He has seen a good deal of the manœuvring, and has gone so far as to tell me that he has been *sounded* about the P. M. G.; but, as he was not *more* communicative, delicacy prevented my being particular in my enquiries, but *you* may. I wish you, when you see him, to find out the whole scheme, if you can, and let me know it, as it *may* assist me much as to future operations.

Soto has gone on. I sent him with your letter in which you said: "With this, or soon after, you will receive," &c.

Mrs. H. is much obliged by your letter to her. She thinks you are quite right, though, at the same time, she sees and feels the necessity I am under of staying at home.

For my own part, I think I might adopt the Connect-

icut motto: "*Qui transtulit sustinet.*" This has been the case hitherto, and I doubt not will be; and as the office, as to me, was literally an unsollicited *Deodand*, and Providence hedges up my way with respect to other pursuits, I think it my duty not to risque the loss of it in present circumstances.

Lest your operations should be retarded, I send you some hints about Mr. Eliot, and you may expect more hereafter.

Has *Russel* ever raised the *eleventh* Pillar yet? I have not seen his paper since he got the *tenth* up; and, as I save those *pictures*, I wish to have the *eleventh*, too.

Congress have this day fixed upon New York as the place for the 1st Congress under the new Constitution to meet at. The electors are to be appointed on the first Wednesday in January. They are to choose the President on the 1st Wednesday in February, and Congress is to meet on the first Wednesday in March.

Since your letter, Mrs. H. loves you better than ever; and her attachment to Mrs. B. is not lessened by it. Remember us both affectionately to her. I am,

Your very sincere friend,

EBEN. HAZARD.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

BOSTON, Tuesday evening, Sept. 23d, 1788.

DEAR SIR, — By kind Providence and a good neighbour (Brother Clarke), I have this evening had half an hour's conference with Mr. Wingate. The result is, there has been an attempt in Congress to get you displaced, and W. says that *he* prevented it. His colleague was for it, and, had he agreed with him, there would have been seven States on that side. The States against you are Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Jersey, Delaware, and Georgia, and I am uncertain whether Rhode Island or North Carolina;

but it originated in Connecticut, and the person pitched upon for your successor is Jonathan Trumbull. Baldwin, of Georgia, is against you. Your fault is not enough favouring *the stages* in carrying the mails, and giving indulgence to post-riders, while you are strict with stage-carriers. W. speaks of you with great respect, says he was on a committee which concerned your office, and would have reported in favour of letting you have assistance, but could not prevail with the rest. He thinks there will not be another attempt, because he supposes there will not be a full representation for the remaining time that the old Confederation is to continue. But, if the contracts which are to be made this fall should disgust the favourers of stages, the attempt may be renewed, and will probably succeed, provided one or two of the other States can be drawn into the vote. He says there is a discretionary power lodged with you to give the preference either to riders or stage-carriers, and he thinks your conduct has been in favour of public œconomy, as well as upright and impartial; but, from what I could gather, policy might dictate a degree of partiality to the stages, if the discretionary power lodged with you will authorize it. Of this you are a better judge than I can be.

I have given you the substance of what I could learn from him, and he did not appear to be at all reserved on the subject.

Ben Russell has minuted your name in his book. He thought that, if he sent a paper to the New York post-office, it was yours; but I have convinced him that yours is a distinct office. I hope you will, for the future, have the Centinel regularly.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

New York, Oct. 2, 1788.

My dear Sir, — The extracts from Mather form a valuable addition to what I had before collected respecting the Indians. I thank you for them.

My "*situation*" is much as when I wrote you before, except that Congress is not so numerous as it was, seven States only being represented; and it will be difficult to get them to be unanimous. I am a good deal of W.'s opinion, that there will not be a *full* representation before the new Government takes place. Indeed, I do not think there will be 9 States on the floor; so that it is possible that I may yet weather out the storm. I am much obliged to you for the information you sent me. I feel rather surprised that Massachusetts voted as she did, and cannot account for it. For some of the rest, I can conjecture the reasons. Upon the whole, the plan mentioned in the enclosed copy of an affidavit* seems to have been in agitation; and the affidavit probably will convince you that it was a rascally piece of business. *Ogden* was a contractor for carrying the mail by stage the first year, — an artful, selfish, troublesome man, who did not do his duty, for which I frequently found fault with him, and, by direction of the Board of Treasury, took the opinion of a lawyer about suing him on his contract. He has never forgiven me to this day. *Dayton* is his brother-in-law, a member of Congress, who took his seat this year for the first time. From the *consultation* having taken place between them, it *seems* as if Dayton (whom I hardly knew even by sight) had determined to revenge Ogden's quarrel, and that between them they had laid the enclosed plan for the purpose, before he came to Congress. *As* he came here, he boasted, by the way, of what he would do. I heard of it, and counter-

* This affidavit is misplaced at pp. 3, 4. — Eds.

acted him; but he gave me a great deal of trouble, and I have seldom been at rest since. But I never heard, before *you* informed me, that my removal had been seriously agitated in Congress; or, rather, that any vote had been taken about it. North Carolina must have been the 6th State. A friend has intimated to me that a member from that State wanted the office for himself. I am pretty confident that Rhode Island would have been in my favour. It seems W. was friendly to me; but I wonder he never gave me any hint of what was doing, as he was often at my house, always met a friendly reception, and I was unreserved in my communications to him. G. is a coxcomb, whose friendship I would not wish for; he thinks more of himself than of all the world beside, and makes himself ridiculous in almost every company he visits. You would laugh to hear the remarks made on him by the ladies. I don't know who my *two friends* were that are mentioned in the affidavit, but suspect that Mr. Gorham and Mr. King were intended. With respect to the stages, I have no objection against employing them, when it can be done advantageously to the public; but I cannot, in conscience, injure the latter to save the former. The *discretionary power* is a two-edged sword, and its edge is sharpened by this proviso: "That a preference be given to stages, in cases where the public will sustain no material injury by it." It is left to me to judge of this "injury." If the stage proprietors demand an exorbitant price, and I refuse to give it because I think it would materially injure the public, one party will say I am an enemy to stages, and determined to destroy that "useful establishment." If, on the other hand, I agree to their demands, the other party will say I wantonly squander public money, and am not fit to be trusted with it; for the *riders* offered to carry the mail for much less. You see what a dilemma I am in, and that it is almost impossible to keep clear of both Scylla and

Charybdis. The rule I have hitherto followed, and which I shall continue to follow, is to do in every case what appears to me to be my duty, and leave events to God. He put me in the office; and, if he allows me to be removed from it, I shall content myself with the reflection that I have faithfully done my duty while I was in office, and the hope that I am afterwards to be useful in some other way, which Providence will point out to me. I am too much of a Christian to be a *politician*. Thank you for speaking to Russell.

Webster (in his magazine * just published), in reviewing *Minot*, "animadverts on an expression indulged not only by Mr. Minot, but by those *elegant and judicious* historians, Mr. Belknap and Dr. Ramsay; viz., *averse from* instead of averse to." The *note* is lengthy, and I cannot transcribe it; but you will probably see it ere long. I have not time to look, but, if I recollect rightly, you noted averse *from* as an *erratum* in the table. Perhaps W. may be told of this, or the expression may be defended. I am going on with *Elliot*. My whole self loves yours.

Adieu for the present. EBEN. HAZARD.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

NEW YORK, Oct. 14, 1788.

MY DEAR SIR, — I am *well* informed that no vote has been taken on the removal of the P. M. G., but that it is probable his opponents may have been calculating their chance of success, and *supposed* that 6 States would be with them. So that W. must have been mistaken.

There is not a sufficient number of States represented now to form a Congress; but I am told the Committee on the P. O. intend to have a *report* ready for the new Con-

* Webster published in New York, in 1788, the "American Magazine," which failed for want of support, and was after that year discontinued. — EDS.

gress; and, from their complexion, I suspect it will not be very favourable. I must "meet them at Philippi." The man you mentioned *is* talked of as my successor.

The Ishmaelitish printer at Philadelphia has lost his cause before the Assembly, who have determined that his charges against the judges are not a sufficient ground for impeachment. It is said he has threatened the lives of the judges, and is now bound to the peace on that account.

I expect company every moment to dinner, so must bid you *good-bye*, when I have added that we are all well, send love, and I am

Your friend,

EBEN. HAZARD.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

NEW YORK, Oct. 25, 1788.

MY DEAR SIR, — Lest I should forget it, I now mention what I have been prevented from doing before: that Mr. Morse desired me to inform you that he expects to be at Charlestown on Sunday the 2d November, and to be there two Sabbaths. He is now in Connecticut. Please to give him the enclosed, when you see him. We had a meeting in our church last Thursday evening, to determine whether we should invite Mr. Muir to preach two months longer among us, his time having expired. It was carried in the *negative*, 174 *con* and 141 *pro*. His friends are much dissatisfied, and insist that the decision was not fair. There was improper warmth on both sides. What the issue will be is uncertain. Mr. Muir's friends, I am informed, have frequent meetings, and I think it probable some of them will separate from us.

As there will hardly be a Congress before the new Government begins, I suppose my affairs will remain pretty much in *statu quo* till then. If, in the mean time, you can make favourable impressions on the minds of *any*

members that may be chosen, either to serve from November to March, or afterwards, you may serve me by doing it. I do not recollect where I found, "I will meet them at Philippi;" but somebody had threatened he would do so and so to somebody else (I believe Alexander), and when he was informed of it he replied, "I will meet them at Philippi," * intimating that he would find [him] there, and not unprepared. I mean to be ready to meet my folks or their report before the new Congress. Love as usual.

Adieu. EBEN. HAZARD.

P. S. I sent Swediaur to Dr. Franklin, our President.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

NEW YORK, November 8, 1788.

MY DEAR SIR, — It is some time since I have either wrote to or heard from you. The annual business of contracting for the carriage of the mail has lately found me full employ, and does not even now allow me to idle. It is fortunate for me that this hurry happens when my foes are scattered, and thus rendered unable to teaze me. Some of them, I suppose, are politically dead for ever. Notwithstanding their machinations, Providence has thus far defeated their attempts to supplant me.

Inter nos, what would you think of my collection of papers coming to light after lying in obscurity so long? It is likely to be the case. The American Magazine is to appear in a new form, and on an extensive plan, and to be the property of *a society* of gentlemen, among whom N. W. holds but one share; and I am told he is going to remove from hence to Connecticut, so that he will not

* "*Cassius.* We'll along ourselves, and meet them at Philippi." (*Julius Cæsar*, Act IV. Sc. 3.) — EDS.

be the editor. Their plan is to publish 104 pages monthly. 56 of them are to be in the usual magazine style, 24 are to contain State papers, and 24 either historical MSS., such as Winthrop's Journal, or a republication of ancient, valuable, and scarce American histories, such as Smith's of Virginia, &c., &c. N. W. called, to know if I would dispose of my collection for this purpose, informing me that they intended to print in such a way that the State papers and histories might be detached from the Magazine and bound by themselves. After considering of the matter, I concluded to let them have the collection for £500, which they agreed to give. I don't altogether like this way of publishing the papers; but when I reflected on the great uncertainty of my being able to publish them at all, the risque I run by their remaining *in statu quo*, and the little probability that I should clear £500 by them if I should publish, I thought it best to say *yes*. The money is to be paid by instalments. All this is *inter nos*.

Enclosed is a letter from Carey, and another, which I wish to have delivered soon.

Mrs H. joins in love to you and yours with

Your friend, EBEN. HAZARD.

Remember us to Mr. Morse, if he has not left you. How do they like him?

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

NEW YORK, November 15, 1788.

MY DEAR SIR, — Since my last, I have received yours of 5th inst., with a packet for Spotswood, which shall be forwarded. I am sorry my letter did not arrive before Mr. Morse. It was owing to accident. As I make it a rule to avoid all *unnecessary* business on the Sabbath, I wrote my letter on Saturday, and something prevented

its being sent to the office. I forgot it till Sabbath evening, after sermon, when I went to the office with it, and was told the mail was gone. I went to the post's quarters, and was informed he had set out "half an hour ago;" thus was I obliged to detain it for the succeeding mail, and thus Mr. Morse outrode it. I doubt not the Charlestown people's approving Mr. Morse. He is, undoubtedly, a man of genius; but, among us, he did not do himself justice. His Geography employed (he thought *necessarily*) so much of his time, that he could not devote enough to his theological studies, and thus injured himself in the opinion of some, who, I am sure, would have been fond of him, could he have studied more. I told him this candidly; and he received the information as from *a friend*, and allowed the remark to be just. I have a very sincere regard for him, and wish the Charlestown people may be *unanimous* in their call to him; for I am persuaded they will not do better, and I wish him to have satisfactory evidence that it is his duty to go there. As to us, Christian prudence requires that we should give him up; for, though the majority would be for him, the minority is so respectable that the majority would act unwisely in calling him, as he would in accepting their call. I think I told you the *Session* had agreed to invite him for three months longer, and that Mr. *Muir's* friends were warmly opposed to it, and urged *his* being invited for two months more. Mr. Morse was informed of this, and, in a letter to Dr. Rodgers, offered such reasons as might be expected from a wise man and a Christian for desiring that the invitation might not be presented, assuring him that he could not accept it. The Session, at a loss to know how to act, desired a meeting of the congregation, that they might be acquainted with their wishes in the case. There was a meeting. Mr. Muir's friends desired that an address, which had been *intended* to be presented to the Session (censuring their conduct, and calculated to inflame), might

be read, which was agreed to. They then, as if under the influence of infatuation, called for Mr. Morse's letter, which was of a contrary tendency. The contrast was striking, and I suspect produced an effect different from their wishes. It was put to vote whether Mr. Muir should be invited to preach to us two months longer, and carried in the negative, 174 votes against 141. There was indecent warmth on both sides, as is customary in both [such?] cases; and Mr. Muir's friends were dissatisfied with the decision.

They then thought of the following scheme: That an *assistant* should be called to *each* church, and the labours of each confined to the church to which he was called. They consulted me, as a cool, dispassionate man, and I told them it could never be effected. They differed from me in opinion. It happened, providentially, that the *Presbytery* and Synod (of which they are a part) were both to sit here the next week. They applied to the former about the *assistants*. *They* referred it to the latter, who decided against the plan, as creating at present a partial, and leading in the end to a total, division of the churches. When this matter was settled, the Synod appointed occasional supplies for us till May; and among the rest Mr. Muir is to preach 4 Sabbaths, at intervals. His friends now talk of peaceably withdrawing from us in the spring, and building a church for themselves, which will not be displeasing. We have now got to be pretty quiet. But you will easily see that, should Mr. Morse be proposed now, a new flame would be kindled by it. This is the opinion of his friends here; and, for the peace of the church, they give him up. Mrs. H. and I hope your next will give us more agreeable intelligence respecting your son. We love you, and sympathize with you in your afflictions, which we pray may be sanctified. Love to Mrs. B.

Yours, EBEN. HAZARD.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

Boston, 16 Nov., evening, 1788.

Dear Sir, — I am very glad to hear that you are likely to bring your budget of MSS. to so good a market. I believe it is the best way of disposing of them, provided the purchasers do not fail in the payment. I have one favour to request of you on this occasion. Some time ago, I furnished you with a copy of Governour Shirley's orders to Sir W. Pepperell, when he went to Cape Breton. As I shall make use of this when I write my 2d Vol., I shall be glad to have the credit of midwifeing it into public view myself, and therefore beg you would not part with that in the sale of your collection. I have the original now in my hands, with many other papers relative to that very singular expedition, and I think it most proper that they should all go together. I could wish, also, that you would take off the restriction of secrecy, so far as it relates to the intended publication of the Magazine and its appendage, because I apprehend it may be in my power to set on foot a similar publication here; and the knowledge that such a design is on foot elsewhere may prove a stimulus to the undertaking. Not that I wish to anticipate or prevent any part of the collection *there* to be exhibited, but to add to the general stock, and let the public have all the materials which can be gathered. I am sensible that the only sure way to preserve manuscripts is to multiply the copies; and I am persuaded that it is, and will be, in my power to procure enough for a pretty tolerable volume or two, or perhaps more, and of such a kind as the gentlemen whom you mention would not be likely to come at.

Mr. Morse left us last Monday, and I suppose you will have seen him before this shall reach you. I think he told me something about this very matter; certainly

he said that the publication of Governour Winthrop's Journal was to be deferred, and to be made in another form from what N. W. proposed. Morse was well received at Charlestown. They kept him preaching almost every day, and sometimes twice a day, during his short stay; and he preached three times in this town. He appears to have an improvable mind and a good heart, and I believe will wear well. He will certainly have a call at Charlestown, and they say it will be unanimous.

I have nothing new to inform you of, excepting that Jemmy Winthrop has visited Dighton Rock, and taken off the inscription more perfectly than it was ever done before. But how to translate it? Ay, there's the rub. And perhaps, if it was translated, it might prove an unmeaning scrawl. But we are in the dark in that, as well as many other points of American antiquity.

My son is no worse than when I wrote last. His swelling does not increase, and there is less appearance of a suppuration; but the stiffness remains, and the pain is sometimes very distressing. It is an occult disorder, and the doctors are at a loss about it. Mrs. B. joins in affectionate regards with, dear sir,

Your friend and servant, JERE. BELKNAP.

Hitchborn's letter was delivered last evening. Please to despatch the enclosed as quick as possible, to let Carey know that I am not inattentive to him.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

NEW YORK, Nov. 22, 1788. 9 at night.

MY DEAR SIR, — I have received yours of 16th inst., with the one for Carey, which will go forward on Monday. With respect to the MSS., I made a pretty *safe* bargain; and yet much will depend on the success of

the publication as to the *quickness* of the pay. So that, if you can help the proprietors to some subscribers, you will eventually help me by it. This I apprehend you may do without interfering with any Boston plans; for, even should the one you have thought of be carried into effect, *your* papers will probably be different from mine. By agreement, I am to hand mine out in monthly portions, and in chronological order. The January Magazine, or rather *Register*, is to contain 24 pages of them, and as many of "Winthrop's Journal." I shall reserve "Shirley's orders to Pepperell" for you. The design of the intended publication is no secret now, having been advertised in the newspapers; but I wish you not to say any thing about what I am to have for my papers. From what I have said above about *quickness*, you will naturally suppose I wish you not to be too quick in setting your machine in motion. N. W. had printed 6 sheets of "Winthrop," but, upon the new plan's striking him, he thought it best to publish in the new mode; and I am told he will lose his expence so far, for his paper is not so fine as the new work is to be done upon, *inter nos*. When do you intend to "write your 2d Vol."? Could it be brought forth, I think it would help the sale of the 1st.

Mr. Morse has been here. He does not appear to be disappointed by what has happened among us, though I believe he would not have been displeased, had things taken a different turn in some respects.

Many a man may run his head against Dighton Rock before the meaning of the inscription on it will be known. I think Dr. Styles has set it down for *Phœnician*. Was not that at Cambridge a perfect transcript of the inscription? N. W. suspects, and, indeed, is "pretty sure," that you are the American Plutarch, because no man but yourself can possess sufficient materials for the purpose. He told me you were invited to be the editor of the Columbian, and to go and reside in Philadelphia for the

purpose. I asked why you did not go? He said he supposed the salary was not sufficient. I cannot think how he has got his information, but suppose in Philadelphia. By the bye, I *felt* the propriety of your hint to S., not to mention that such a piece was by the same hand with such a piece, which (by the bye again) I think he has once since neglected.

I am sorry to hear that your son continues to be so much disordered. In what part is the swelling? Do you suspect any thing particular as the cause of it?

The measles have got into my family, and attacked my daughter. Thus far, the *symptoms* are favourable. There is something about Master Sam which seems to indicate that the disorder is on its approach towards him.* Mrs. H. will probably have her hands full. She joins me in love to yourself and Mrs. B. I am, dear sir,

Your friend, EBEN. HAZARD.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

NEW YORK, Nov. 29, 1788.

MY DEAR SIR, — In Hall's Massachusetts Gazette of January 23, 1786, is a petition from the General Court of Massachusetts to the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, passed by the magistrates, Oct. 20, 1652. Can you inform me whether it is genuine? If not, I wish you would find out, and let me know. Perhaps Hall can tell you from whom he got it.

The intended printer of the new Magazine told me to-day the proprietors wished to have a person to write original essays, &c., for them, as they were hardly strong

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* Mr. Hazard's son Samuel, born 26th May, 1784, lived to a great age, dying in Philadelphia in 1870. After devoting the early part of his life to mercantile and commercial pursuits, he began a literary career, and published many historical and statistical works. See Drake's Dict. Am. Biog. — EDS.

enough in that way, and that they would pay for them. Is your time so wholly engaged that you could not furnish about 4 pages a month? If not, perhaps I can serve you here. What terms would you engage on?

Mr. Nat. Barrett (of your town) was married last Wednesday night week to the widow of our General McDougall. They went the next day to Newark, from whence they returned last Thursday evening. Appearances are in favour of its being a happy match. She made the General a good wife, and it is said Mr. B. was a good husband. We are all much as when I wrote you last. How is your son? The paper has been sent to Carey. You once mentioned to me a collection of Boston newspapers, which some bookbinder (I think) had to sell, at 10*s.* per vol. Are they to be disposed of yet? What years are they for? and by whom printed? Have you almost done with De la Vega? But it is almost 11 o'clock. Mrs. H. is gone to bed, and I must go too. Love to Mrs. B., from

Your affectionate

EBEN. HAZARD.

P. S. How much did it cost the Commonwealth to *remove* stiff Greenleaf?!!!*

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

NEW YORK, Dec. 7, 1788.

MY DEAR SIR, — I think the Charlestown folks have done wisely, and that in Mr. Morse they will find all they wish for in a minister. As far as I can learn, he means to accept the invitation, upon which I congratulate you, for you will find him a valuable neighbour. *We* are pretty peaceable, though some of our people find it hard to part with Mr. Morse. He has gained much of our

* William Greenleaf, sheriff of Worcester County, who was impeached and removed from office. — EDS.

esteem. We have no other person in particular in view at present, and the Synod have appointed supplies for us 'til May. There is, nevertheless, so much of "an opening" among us that, if any gentleman comes this way, Dr. Rodgers can give him a chance of being heard. He will not be paid for preaching, because our funds are not sufficient for paying so many; but his board will cost him nothing while here, and perhaps the useful knowledge he might obtain by travelling this way would be a compensation for his travelling expences.

The federal building is under cover, and I suppose is the largest and most elegant building on the Continent. You can have no idea of the change which *seven weeks* have made in the City Hall and its vicinity; you must come, and see for yourself.

Our daughter has recovered from the measles. Sam and his nurse are in the heighth of them. We have been obliged to get *an assistant;* and yet Mrs. H. has her full share of fatigue. How amazingly peevish the measles make the sick folks! Love, as usual.

Yours,

EBEN. HAZARD.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

NEW YORK, Dec. 10, 1788.

MY DEAR SIR, — I wrote you a letter, to go by last post; but, upon my boy's carrying it to the office, he was informed the post was gone. You will probably receive it with this. Mr. Morse will go to Charlestown.

The Columbian accompanies this. The last Note to Correspondents is for the Monarch, who seems to be dethroned with respect to *Soto*.

We have nothing new. Love to Mrs. B.

Yours, in haste,

EBEN. HAZARD.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

Boston, December 13, 1788.

My dear Sir, — Never in my life was I so straitened for time as now. The duties of my profession, the care of my school, the innumerable callings in and callings out, scarcely leave me room for any other business; and yet other business must be done. Nothing but utter incapacity shall prevent my attention to my friend. I have two letters of yours unanswered, and I will now endeavor to answer them as well as I can.

The first object that occurs is my *poor son*, who is yet confined; and his disorder is of such a nature as to keep us continually in doubt and fear, with scarcely a ray of hope. The appearances on the surface, and the probe of the surgeon, announce a deep abscess, in the region of the hip-bone, the discharge of which was preceded by the most exquisite pain. He is now pretty easy, but our fears are uppermost concerning the event. Should it prove fatal, I shall need all my fortitude to support *myself*, besides exerting myself to comfort my child, and be the staff of my distressed family. O my friend, these are trying scenes!

With respect to the Dighton Rock, the copy at college might have passed for a true one, if the critical ambition of James Winthrop had not led him to *scour* the rock, and fill the cavities with printer's ink, and by pressing on wet paper he has got a copy a little longer and a little wider, and some of the figures a little better defined; but it is not a whit more intelligible. He is now studying the Mexican picture-writing, to see if he can decypher it by that means.

I never meant to conceal the author of the American Plutarch, therefore N. W. is welcome to his knowledge. As

to the offer from Philadelphia, I suppose he got his information there.

I asked Hall concerning the petition of 1652. He took two days to recollect, and could not then tell from whom he had it. After this, I sent it to the Secretary's office, to see if he could authenticate it; and there it is yet. When he gives me an answer, you shall have it.

All I can say with certainty concerning writing for the new Magazine is that I thank you for the motion. At present, it is impossible that I should make any engagement; but, if you please, the door may be kept open. However, this must be an indispensable condition, — that no person but yourself must know me in that character.

I am glad N. B. has got a *good* wife. I suppose he went by the Shandean rule in such cases, — to get one as *un*like the former as possible.

The collection of newspapers is from 1760 to the present time, in 24 vols.; and 2 dollars per volume have been offered, and refused. They are Boston papers; and the series, I believe, is pretty regular.

De la Vega shall be returned by Barnard. I thank you for the long loan of it. Should I want it again, it is in the College Library.

What it cost the State to remove Greenleaf, I know not; but more, certainly, than was necessary. Had they put it off to the end of the session, the Senate could have done it as well, and the pay of the Lower House been saved. They did nothing but dance backwards and forwards all the time.

Enclosed is another portion of Smith, and a reproof for the indecent pieces in the October Magazine, which have vexed and mortified me greatly.

I hear that General Judge Varnum is unpopular in the Ohio country. Is it so? I have not yet seen Cutler.

Having lately exerted all my influence among my friends, and in many instances without success, to procure sub-

scriptions for the Columbian Magazine, I do not think it probable that I shall be able to get any for the American, especially as the Monarch has taken care to announce to the world that he has still a hand in it. He is not popular here. Besides, Thomas's Magazine * will swallow up all others; and I do not expect that the proprietors of the Columbian will think it worth their while to send any here after this year is out. I wish the Register had been detached from the Magazine. In that case, I doubt not some subscriptions might have been procured; but, tacked with it, I do not expect there will be many.

Nothing is yet done about a similar publication here, though I have repeatedly heard it mentioned. Should there be one, and I have any hand in it, I shall do my endeavour that it shall not hurt yours, but rather that each one shall help the other.

I hope your family is recovered of the measles, and that Mrs. Hazard will not be called to so painful a trial as Mrs. B. We send our love; and I am, dear sir,

Yours affectionately,

JERE. BELKNAP.

You did not give me any answer about the opinion of the Jersey Judge Symmes.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

NEW YORK, Dec. 17, 1788.

MY DEAR SIR, — You have a right to be in my debt, without any apology; because, as you know, I have often been in yours. We are very sorry to find that your son still continues so ill. I have frequently wished for medical skill, to advise you what would be beneficial for him; but

* Thomas and Andrews published monthly, from 1789 to 1793 inclusive, the "Massachusetts Magazine," devoted to letters and the arts, &c. — EDS.

'tis in vain. Use the means you have, and leave events to God, who will order them in such a way as shall be best for you.

My family are now all well; but a nurse, whom we had hired for the sick, who has been with us a fortnight, and was to have left us to-day, has the measles herself. They made their appearance this morning; so that we shall have to nurse the nurse. It would be inhuman to send her from us sick, and my good wife has learned that she is very poor; so she has concluded to keep her here till she gets well, and, like the good Samaritan, pour oil into her wounds.

N. W. called to take his leave of me to-day. He is going to Boston, where Thomas is to print something for him, I believe his *Lectures*. He will probably be with you all winter.

Mr. Morse is at Elizabeth Town, printing his Geography.* His printer treated him scurvily, by appropriating paper intended for him to another use, and thus has delayed his work. This mortifies him not a little, and, I fear, will hinder him from settling in Charlestown as soon as he would wish; but I intend to advise him to go there, and return again after a while, rather than stay at Elizabeth Town 'til his work is finished; for I find, by a letter from my friend Mr. Carey, that the people anxiously expect his coming.

Mrs. H. has gone to visit a neighbour, and the time has come for me to wait upon her; so I must bid you good-bye. Yours,

EBEN. HAZARD.

P. S. If N. W. should propose to you to be a *partner* in the intended Magazine, don't hastily refuse it. I

* Jedediah Morse's "American Geography," which passed through a number of editions, both in this country and in England, was first published at Elizabethtown, N.J., in 1789. — EDS.

think that work will be *established*, especially if the proprietors take my advice, of admitting as proprietors a sufficient number of men of genius to make the whole of the *Magazine original*. The share of the profits would, in this case, be smaller at first; but I think this plan would procure such a number of subscribers, after a while, as would make a share very valuable.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

Boston, 20 December, 1788.

My dear Sir, — Your two letters, accompanying the November Magazine, came to hand this week. I cannot understand the last of the "Notes to Correspondents" by your short hint that it is "for the Monarch," unless I was also acquainted with his letter therein referred to. Do explain it farther. I have no inclination to make any farther remarks on Soto's rambles, having (as he concedes) established what I intended; viz., that none of the fortifications now remaining could be his work. It is of no consequence that I know of how far he rambled northward on the W. side of the Mississippi, nor whether the number of leagues mentioned by this or that historian be counted in a crooked or straight line, or be accurate or not. If N. W. conceives there be *difficulties* yet remaining, I cannot conceive they are of any importance, or that any great point can be gained by an endeavour to solve them; therefore I shall let them remain as they are.

The more I reflect on and converse about the intended publication, the more sorry I am that *your collection* cannot come out without being *tacked to a Magazine*. I wish some means may yet be found to disengage it; or, at least, to leave it optional with the subscribers whether to take it singly or connected. I am not alone in this

wish. The name of Mr. Hazard did not need to be thus *satellited.*

My son is yet very weak, and seems to grow weaker. Heaven only knows when and how it will end. I rejoice that your children are recovered of the measles. God grant them and you, and your dear consort, health and prosperity. Mrs. B. joins in the wish with your affectionate

JERE. BELKNAP.

P. S. Our Senators are chosen, but I have not the honour of being acquainted with either of them; and I suppose the gentleman who *will be* chosen Representative for this district to Congress will not be of my acquaintance.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

NEW YORK, Dec. 27, 1788.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have just received yours of 20th. As to the *Note*, the Monarch wrote to Spot. or Dal., to know if he might print (I think) the remarks about Soto in his ——, to which a reply was made, which intimated the *sacredness* of property (an idea the Monarch has been fond of inculating), and that they could not consent to a republication, unless he would allow them something for the permission; nor even then, without consulting the *writer*, to know whether it would be agreeable to him. I understood this (in substance) from the Monarch, who told me he intended to write to Dal. on the subject of *property*, which, from the *Note*, I suspect he did.

I am very sorry, too, that my collection cannot appear *per se;* but so it is. *You* know it would not do for me to risk an edition of so large a work (for I suppose it will make 2 volumes in folio); and I *could* not do it, if I were disposed for it. There was no relying on aid from any *public body;* for men who either cannot, or will not, be

just, must not be expected to be *generous*, especially by one who has more than once been treated with indignity, and upon whom to trample has lately appeared to be meritorious. In short, I could have no expectations from any *foreign* quarter, and could not do the needful myself; so that I was reduced to the alternative of doing as I did, or running the risque of losing all my labour and expence. With you and some others, the name of H. would be considered as a primary planet; but I apprehend many would think it inferior even to a "*Satellite*." I cannot *feel* as if I was a person of any consequence, except to my own family.

We are sorry to hear that your son is yet so ill.

You will receive a packet from Spotswood herewith.

I forget what you asked me about Judge Symmes, and have not time now to look over your letters, but will bear it on my mind.

Did you ever see Winthrop's Journal? Part of it is too indecent for the public eye, and must be suppressed, such as the question, "*An contactus et fricatio*," &c., which you sent me formerly.

When will you want the continuation of Elliot? *Inter nos*, I *suspect* the Charlestown folks will have to *build an house* ere long.

Love to Mrs. B. from Mrs. H. and

Your friend,

EBEN. HAZARD.

I will give Campus Martius to Platt. I am in doubt about *Holstein*, whether it is in Virginia or North Carolina. The Mariettans, I believe, are safe enough.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

Boston, January 3, 1789.

My dear Sir, — It often happens that I am so weary with preparing enclosures for the letters which I write to you, that I am obliged to apologize for the brevity of what I write you. As you are a man of business, you can easily see the propriety and even necessity of this. However, I suspect, from what labours in my noddle, that this will not be a very short one; though, in fact, I am weary, having been sitting the whole week, except once that I was *dragged* out to dine, and one evening to sup.

You cautioned me in your last not to be quick in rejecting a proposal of N. W. to be a partner in the American Magazine. Yesterday I had occasion to put your advice in practice. He appeared, and surprized me with a question, which I was at a loss to answer; for I had no suspicion that any person but yourself was, or would be, privy to my being applied to as a writer in that work. However, I got over my surprize, and told him what I had told you in answer, which was only an hypothetical one. He then made *the proposal*, which I have, as the lawyers phrase it, and as you advised, "hung up." To be free with you, my dear sir, I have trusted you with all my literary concerns, and by the enclosed you will see that I am cautious of making any farther engagement with the Columbians; and yet, as I have been treated well by them, am loth to quit them abruptly. Were it put to my choice, without any solicitation from any quarter, I would finish my History of New Hampshire before I engage any farther; but I am solicited *three* ways at once, — by N. W., by the Columbians, and by Thomas. Were it possible to unite all these interests in one, I should not scruple to "cast in my lot," not, however, without assuring you that, if N. W. was unsupported by you, I should wish to have no con-

cern with *him*. I hope he is sensible that he derives a degree of respectability from his connexion with you, that he could not have without; but no more of this.

He says he has talked with Thomas, and offered him a share or shares in the proposed work, and that Thomas listens to the offer. Perhaps he has suspended it, as I have done, for farther consideration. At best, it is all at present undetermined. Now, if it be not too late, let me add this to the plan: that, as Mr. Trenchard is become sole proprietor of the Columbian Magazine, and is *an engraver*, what if he should be applied to (in case Thomas comes in) to take a share, and furnish the engravings. Then let the engravings be done at Philadelphia, the Register be printed at New York, and the Magazine here by Thomas; the two last ideas are from N. W. But I said nothing to him about the former. I do not think myself a proper person to say any thing to Trenchard about it; but, if you think it proper, you may, and, if he can be brought in, all matters may be compromised. I would not have him imbibe a notion that I am going to quit him, if he should decline this invitation; but I should like to have it suggested to him that I have been applied to, and have suspended my answer till it can be known whether he will join or not. These things I submit to you: you will know how to conduct them much better than myself.

6 o'clock.

Yours of the 27th is just come in. I now understand the Note to Correspondents. Apropos of property, have not *I* a property in the biographical pieces which have already appeared in the Columbian? Of what sort is it? Is it wholly mine, or partly mine and partly Spotswood's? Suppose I was to want to reprint them, in a larger collection of "Lives," must I ask his leave?

What I said about Judge Symmes was that I had heard he had written something respecting the ancient fortifi-

cations, or rather about that part of the country being possessed by a race of Indians prior to that which was on the spot when America was first known to the Europeans. I think the letter was written to the Secretary of Congress, and I wished either to have a copy of it, or that it might be printed. I should be glad to have the continuation of Elliot, whenever you can give it me. If I continue the biographical work, I suppose I shall next go upon *Roger Williams*. Have you any thing about him?

My son is yet very low; his weakness increases, his ulcer is yet open, and there is the appearance of another. His mother has not been out of the chamber, more than a quarter of an hour at a time, this month. Love to Mrs. Hazard.

Yours affectionately, J. B.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

New York, January 11, 1789.

Dear Sir, — I want to write you *very particularly*, but cannot before next post. N. W. has got nothing about you from me, and, I believe, only *suspects*. "*Festina lente!*"

Yours, Eben. Hazard.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

New York, January 13, 1789.

My dear Sir, — I wrote you a very hasty line last Sabbath. Now I intend to be more particular. The reason why I "cautioned you not to be quick in rejecting a pro-

posal," &c., was that I thought your being a partner might be advantageous to *you;* and I supposed, from what I knew to be your situation, that, should the offer be made you, and by N. W. (which I expected), you would immediately reject it, if I did not give you an hint to the contrary; but that, having had the hint, and the offer being made, you would naturally enquire why I gave the hint; and I expected to be able by that time to give you a pretty accurate statement of the prospects of the proprietors. I am now writing in confidence; and, as N. W. has gone farther than I think was justifiable, I suppose myself more at liberty respecting communications *to you* than I should otherwise have been.

You must know that N. W. has been for some time trying to get my State Papers published, and he has generally proposed it in such a way as to have a share in them himself. Several plans were proposed, and at last the idea of the *Register* was started. He called on me, and told me that he had been speaking with some other gentlemen about being concerned in the American Magazine, and that they were to be concerned with him. He informed of their plan, and wished me to join them, and that my papers might be published in the Register. He intimated that he had 500 subscribers, who would continue to take the new work, and that the improvement proposed would greatly encrease the number of subscribers. I objected against being a partner, but had no objection against letting them have my papers for £500. After a variety of negociations, I consented to become a partner, — and they agreed to allow me £500 for my papers, to be paid out of the profits of the publication, — if they would yield me £50 per annum, at least, clear of my share of all expenses; if not, the other proprietors were to make up that sum to me annually; and, should the work be discontinued before I was paid, they were then to pay me as much as with my profits (all expences first deducted) would

make £500. Regular written articles were drawn, and executed by all but one partner, who has not yet signed them, nor will, 'til he sees such a number of subscribers in this city and its vicinity as will defray the actual expence of the work. The *profits* he is willing to risque. He is a discreet, sensible man, and will be what the sailors call our *main stay*. After the articles were executed, some of the proprietors observed that they had given their bond to me for £500, which must be paid at all events, and that I was to run no risque, and, in fact, to pay no expence, — which was not putting matters on a fair footing with respect to them (before this time the proposals were published). They came and stated the case to me. I immediately saw the propriety of their remarks, and without hesitation agreed to a new article, that their bond for the price of my papers should not be in force immediately *upon their publishing* (which was the case before), but that they might publish for three months; if they then discontinued the publication, the bond was to be of no effect; if they continued it after that period, it was to be in full force; and I agreed to furnish my proportion of the State Papers, *i.e.* that, as there were four proprietors, the others should pay me but £375, — the remaining £125 being my proportion of the cost of the papers. Thus relief was given on equitable principles.

In the course of our conversations, at different times, *writers* were talked of. N. W. mentioned you. I agreed that you would be a very suitable person, if you could be got to engage in it, but was apprehensive your situation would not admit of it. N. W. had no doubt you could be engaged, for he was very confident (or well persuaded, or something of that kind) that you wrote for the Columbian, and were paid for it; and he ascribed the biographical pieces, in particular, to you. Upon my asking the reasons of his opinion, he replied that he did not know (or believe) that anybody else possessed suitable

materials; but I suspect he has had more particular information in Philadelphia. It was suggested among the proprietors that Thomas's Magazine would interfere with us in Massachusetts, where we hoped for a number of subscribers; and N. W. afterwards hinted to me the idea of a coalition, which I was pleased with. He told me he was going to the eastward, and would talk with Thomas about it. I *supposed* that he would talk with *you* too, and gave you the hint that you might be prepared. It seems he has done so; and by last post I received proposals for an union, which I have laid before the proprietors here, and they are disapproved of. Upon this plan, the *Register* was to be printed here, and the *Magazine* in Boston. One of the proprietors here was to furnish half the matter for the Magazine monthly, and forward it to Boston, where N. W. was to act as editor, or engage Mr. Belknap, or some person of equal ability, to act for him; and this editor was to furnish the other half of the matter. As a compensation for my papers, I was to be a proprietor of a 7th of both publications; for they were to be separate. All expences, bad debts, and other losses, were to be divided equally among the partners. These proposals were signed by Noah Webster and Isaiah Thomas & Co. In a letter to me, N. W. sent a calculation, by which he attempted to prove that the value of a share would be near £200 per annum. Such an hint might have done for a person unacquainted with the nature of the business, but old birds want a more substantial temptation than chaff. A principal objection against the plan of union was the risque and expence of sending materials and publications backwards and forwards through so great a distance: one failure would be fatal to one month's magazine, and a repetition of such a disaster would discourage subscribers. The subscribers here would probably not be satisfied with a magazine printed elsewhere, and could not be furnished with one so early in the month; and, for my part, I am not

willing to give up my papers on so precarious a chance of a recompence.

N. W. (notwithstanding his obligation under hand and seal) "confesses himself unwilling to continue the Magazine and Register on our first plan;" and I am much mistaken if the other proprietors do not disappoint him by taking him at his word and releasing him from his obligations; for his being known to be concerned makes the subscription go on heavily (this, *inter nos*). *His* magazine was a paltry performance, and people fear a continuation of it. We cannot find his 500 subscribers yet. We have but about 200 in this city, most of whom have been tempted by my papers, as is said. We agreed among ourselves not to let the proprietors be known, but N. W. has let the cat quite out of the bag. I am clear for going on without him, which, I think, may be done better than with him; and my plan would be that a sufficient number of literary characters should be united to make the most, if not the whole, of the magazine *original*. The profits upon each share (especially at first) would be but small; but so, on the other hand, would the risque. Suppose there should be *no* profit for a year or two, and that the work should but barely defray the expence for that time, yet it may be presumed that, if it was conducted with spirit, the public would patronize it, being sure of original entertainment, and that at length the property would become very valuable. What do you think of this idea?

Our printer has been disappointed, as to both his new types and paper, so that we shall not publish on the 1st February, as was proposed; and, indeed, the subscription list is too small yet, although it includes the principal characters in this city. Publishing before we have subscribers enough to defray the expence, or very near it, would only ensure a failure; for it will never do to depend on chance sales.

Having given you the history of the business, and its present state, I now resume my hint. At the time I gave it, my opinion was that a share in this Magazine would be valuable; and, in that view, I was desirous you should own one, and therefore did not wish you to refuse hastily. I am still of the same opinion, and, if I find that the prospect brightens, shall advise you to join us; but I shall not do this unless I see such a subscription list as will afford a rational prospect of success. If my plan is adopted, I can easily get you admitted as a proprietor; and you may without difficulty contribute your share of *originality*. All I wish at present is that you would bear this idea in your mind, and not engage yourself so far otherwise as that you may not be able to derive advantage from this source, should it be in your offer hereafter. I know, too, that your genius, abilities, and industry will contribute much to the success of a magazine; and therefore, if I am concerned in one, I should wish to have you along with me.

I am glad you think of finishing your History of New Hampshire. That ought not to be neglected; but I conceive you may occasionally, and not unprofitably to yourself, assist some of those who now solicit you. From what I have already mentioned, you will see great difficulties in uniting *all* the interests. Could it be done, I apprehend a magazine for the Union might be monopolized, and success ensured; but this I deem impracticable. This being the case, I think it will hardly be worth while to apply to Trenchard.

If I understand your connection with Spotswood rightly, I do not apprehend you have any property in your communications to him, having received a compensation for them, which, I apprehend, amounts to a bargain and sale. Nevertheless, as he has probably made all the use of them which he ever will, and perhaps can, I should think he would not object against your republishing them in a larger

collection, especially as you are on good terms. Suppose you should mention it to him, while he feels grateful, and get something from under his hand *now*, which may be useful *in futuro*.

I do not remember to have ever heard of Judge Symmes's writing upon the subjects you mention, nor do I think him qualified for it.

The continuation of Eliot, which has been so long interrupted, shall be attended to, and I will see if I can assist you respecting R. Williams.

We sincerely sympathize with Mrs. Belknap and yourself in your severe trial, and begin to be apprehensive for the consequence with respect to your son. May you have strength proportioned to your trials; and may this, and every other dispensation of Providence, work for your good. We hope Mrs. B.'s health may not be injured by her close confinement. Give our love to her.

The Legislature of this State have managed matters so that we shall have no voice in the election of a President and Vice-President of the Union; and, if they are not careful, we shall have no Senators. It will be well if we do not drive Congress from us.

Our city has been much infested with robbers; but, as some of them have been taken, we hope an end will be put to their depredations ere long. I am, dear sir,

Yours affectionately, EBEN. HAZARD.

P. S. Since writing the above, I have finished my extracts about Eliot, and now send them.

You will find a good deal about Roger Williams in Governour Hopkins's History of Providence.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

Boston, January 24, 1789.

Dear Sir, — The Monarch called upon me last Monday evening, when I was abroad, and left word that he should come again next day at noon, *upon business*. The *real* business was to fish out what I had heard from you. I had then received only your short letter, and told him that I had heard nothing. He talked about the Magazine, and about my being a partner, and about the business of an editor, and about his being a lawyer (which, by the way, was new to me), and about the value of a share, which, as he then estimated it, would be from £50 to 100 per annum, &c., &c., but expected to hear from you and the proprietors more particularly by the next post, and then we were to have a farther conference. The next post brought me your long letter, and he has not made his appearance since. I suppose, by what you say *in confidence* to me, that he finds he cannot be director-general, and possibly suspects that he may have very little to do. I find myself under some embarrassment with regard to this *personage*. However, as he is going to marry into a family with some branches of which I have long had a very agreeable connection, I must suffer myself to be in a degree of acquaintance with him, especially if (as he *threatens*) he should make this place his future residence. If I cannot esteem him as a friend, I do not wish to make him an enemy; and I am very awkward in the art of Chesterfield. Hence arises my embarrassment. What he has told Thomas, I know not; but I must do him the justice to say that he did not tell me the names of any of the proprietors, excepting yourself and himself; nor do I know who the others are.

Just as I finished the past page, yours of the 17th is brought in, inclosing a letter from Mr. Carey. And now

I must make an episode. You said, in one of your late letters to me, that probably Charlestown people would soon have to build a house for Mr. Morse. I let this drop, in a conversation with a daughter of Mr. Carey, who is one of my congregation; and "know *one woman* by these presents" was never more completely exemplified. In a day or two, it was all over Charlestown; and the girls who had been setting their caps for him are chagrined, while some of the elders of the land are really enquiring how, when, and where the house shall be got. I suppose it would be something to Mr. Morse's advantage, in point of *bands and handkerchiefs*, if this report could be contradicted; but, if it cannot, O how heavy will be the disappointment! When a young clergyman settles in such a town as Charlestown, there is as much looking out for him as there is for a 1000 dollar prize in a lottery; and, though they know that but one can have him, yet who knows but *I* may be that one. A part of Payne's popularity there arose from this circumstance. I say a part, for he was really an amiable character. A Mr. Andrews, who is lately ordained at Newburyport, is just such an object; and I am told that the *linen* comes in largely from the female part of the parish. I could tell you more, but it would be only exposing the weakness of some good folks. Do tell Morse, if he is not *too far gone*, that it will be much in favour of his popularity, and something in his pocket, if he can come to Charlestown with his neck clear of that fatal noose; but, if he cannot, I shall tremble for him, unless he should bring a yoke-fellow whom they *must worship* as much as they do him.

But, to return to the subject I was upon, or rather which I intended to be upon, for I do not mean to say any thing more of the Monarch. If your Magazine is to go on without a connection with Thomas, why will it not do to take Trenchard for an engraver, and make an union

of interest with him? The advantage to him may be the saving the expence of printing, and the pay of an editor to you, if you adopt his title. It may be the supplying all the customers of the Columbian in all parts of the Continent; and certainly the distance and risque between New York and Philadelphia is not to be named as an objection. You cannot get a better engraver than he; and, if he should publish a January magazine on his present plan, and even a February one, you may strike in so as to carry it on after that under the same name, and your Register go along with it, at least as far as there was any probability on your first plan. Now, my friend, think of this. I am *disposed* to be connected where you are connected; and, if I can keep my old connection, and keep with you too, it will be a double gratification to me.

At present, I am *un*engaged by promise, though I cannot say I am by inclination. To be an *editor*, in this place, is what I deprecate. The integrity and the firmness of a Cato would scarcely make a man proof against the envy and obloquy to which he would be exposed. All that I would wish to do would be to write something in my own way, at my own time, and on my own terms, which would be to have a present compensation, and yet a property in the work, if I should see fit to make use of it in another form afterward. My other engagements forbid my entering on an employment which would straiten me for time, and make me neglect what *is* already my duty.

I thank you for the extracts relating to Eliot, and shall make use of them by and by. I have some Providence papers, containing what Governour Hopkins published; but the work is imperfect. I shall probably go upon William Penn next, because the Quaker of whom I borrowed his works some months ago for this purpose has called for the book, and I must return it soon.

Can you procure for me in New York a book entitled

"The Moral and Religious Miscellany, or Sixty-one Aphoretical Essays, by Hugh Knox, D.D., in St. Croix, printed at New York, by Hodge & Shober, 1775." If you can, please to send it, *cum pretio.*

My son remains very weak, much emaciated, his ulcers continually discharging, and no hope of his recovery. Mrs. B. has been confined to his chamber 8 weeks, and has scarcely been out of it a quarter of an hour, at once, night or day.

Our best love to Mrs. Hazard, and I am

Your very affectionate friend,

JEREMY BELKNAP.

P. S. Please to forward the enclosed to Dr. Duffield. Do you know any thing of the man mentioned in it? He was treated with neglect here, but has grossly imposed on our honest friend Buckminster, at Portsmouth, and the last I heard of him was at Exeter. *Ebrius et mendax.*

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

NEW YORK, January 25, 1789.

DEAR SIR, — Having a packet to forward you from my friend Morse, I write a line, just to let you know we are well. Has the Monarch been with you lately? Be cautious lest, like your friend, you believe too much. Poor Morse has been disappointed again; his printer uses him cruelly; he will succeed better in *another line.* Mr. Muir (who, you remember, was his competitor in our church) was appointed by Synod to supply our vacant pulpit four Sabbaths. This is the last; and I suppose he is now preaching his *ultimatum.* The last Sabbath but one that he preached for us, he gave out the 120th Psalm of Watts's Version. Considering the circumstances of his case, there was a degree of impiety in it that shocked, and of impudence that

highly offended me. I have not heard him since, and I believe the empty pews to which he has preached have nearly convinced him that their owners wish him gone.

Mrs. Hazard joins in love to Mrs. B. and yourself, with

Your friend,

EBEN. HAZARD.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

NEW YORK, February 4, 1789.

DEAR SIR, — The Monarch is "unstable as water," of which I am daily more and more convinced. *I* can have no reliance on him. He tells *you* a share will be worth £50 to £100 per annum. He wrote *me* it would be worth near £200, and sent me a *calculation* to prove it; but even this did not convince me. He *is* a lawyer, and *inter nos* a *trifling* character. He certainly cannot be director-general, and I think will not be even a partner. I do not wish, by any thing I have heretofore or now said, to get you to be his enemy, or to make him yours; but, only as your friend, to put you on your guard, lest appearances should deceive you, and lead you to "*commit*" yourself. He told Thomas *all* the secret.

The "*report*" cannot be contradicted; it is true: the house must be built, linen or no linen. You know Judge *Breese*, who laughed so heartily with you one night at our house: he has a daughter, — not Susan, — "say no more, Trim." His Reverence will be on in March, *single*. Further, this deponent saith not. But don't let *one woman* know a word about it.

I like your idea about Trenchard, and will communicate it. Should our plan be carried into effect, I think you may be introduced as a partner, on the same terms with the rest of us; and, when I can make up my mind as to the prospect of *profit* (which I want you to share), I will communicate my sentiments fully. In the mean time, if

you have a chance of *jobs*, I would advise you to attend to them.

Governour Hopkins never finished his History. Only seven papers were published. I cannot meet with *Knox* yet, but will make further inquiries. I have enquired about *Pickles*, and find he came over about 3 years ago, preached with great zeal, had a call to a church in New Jersey, was installed, — being already ordained, — and was afterwards *deposed* by the Presbytery for drunkenness. The gentleman you wrote to was once one of his warmest friends, but, I believe, has very different ideas of him now.

Give our love to Mrs. Belknap, and tell her we feel very tenderly for her as well as you. May you both experience Divine consolation and support under your heavy affliction. I am, dear sir,

Your affectionate

EBEN. HAZARD.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

NEW YORK, February 7, 1789.

DEAR SIR, — Your packet for Marietta shall be forwarded. Enclosed is a letter from Trenchard. I do not think the Monarch will trouble you with proposals about any thing this way, as I apprehend he "feels in his bones," as Mrs. H. says, that he will have little connection here himself. Suppose you should hint to Trenchard to propose a connection with us?

Dr. Gordon's History is published, and some have arrived here, but are not landed yet. The Doctor requests me to send you the enclosed map, and beg you to mark any errors in it (if you observe any), and insert amendments. If there is "any good plan of Boston town *engraved and printed* there," the Doctor will thank you for sending him a copy of it, directed for him, to the

Captain who carries it; and that you will desire the Captain to keep it till the Doctor calls or sends for it. He begs you will, at the same time, send him a line of advice, directed for him at Mr. Fields, No. 11 Cornhill, London. Mr. *Evans* is here, and I must have done. Love to Mrs. B.

Yours, EBEN. HAZARD.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

BOSTON, February 12, 1789.

DEAR SIR, — I intended to have written by last post, but could not get time. As to the Monarch, I have had no further communications with him. The last time I saw him, he told me that he supposed the intended magazine would not be printed *so soon* as had been promised. I did not ask him the reason, and rather avoided the subject: it was in a room full of company. Cannot you reconcile what he told you and what he told me respecting the value of a share, by supposing that in the one case he meant *York* money, and in the other New England lawful? I wish there may be as candid an interpretation as possible; and, if we can bring a *lawyer* within 50 per cent of the truth, it is pretty well.

From the inuendos in your last respecting Judge B. and his daughter, I please myself with the hope of having another laugh with his Honour and Lady at Boston or Charlestown; and *now* I do not despair of seeing Uncle and Aunt Hazard in this quarter.

W. S.* from Marietta has written to Governour Bowdoin, and he communicated to the Academy, at our last meeting, a story told by a certain Moravian missionary of an insect shaped like a locust, but without wings, which, at a

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* Winthrop Sargent. — EDS.

certain time of the year, plants itself in the earth, and shoots up into a vegetable, with stalk, leaves, flowers, &c., the body of the insect turning to a root, &c., &c. This story raised, not a *laugh* (for that would have been unbecoming a philosophical body), but a *smile;* and some whispers were circulated: "This is a fine Ohioism;" "This will do to go with *the pig's-tail,*" &c., &c. The next day I received a letter from W. S., which, by his desire, I communicated to Governour B., and he, after keeping it some days, returned it with a billet, which I here inclose to you. It came too late to be put into my letter to S., but I wish you would seal and forward this. I had rather the query should go in G. B.'s hand than copy it, as it will come with more weight and seriousness from him than it can from me, and I suppose will more gratify W. S.'s importance.

We have sometimes very droll communications. We have had three or four different solutions of the phenomenon of the Aurora Borealis; one, of the variation of the needle; and a project for making a map of the country in a compendious manner: all of which, if I were to relate them, would make you laugh as heartily as the Shrewsbury Judge. But what is more laughable, if possible, is that committees are sometimes chosen to consider and report upon *such* communications. Great men have their weaknesses as well as little!

Peregrine Pickle was very popular at Portsmouth, — they had lectures every night almost, — he made a great outcry against Murray, and was vehemently zealous. He is now at Exeter. I wish for an answer from Dr. Duffield, or a copy of the proceedings of the Jersey Presbytery against him. Can you not get it, by the help of your good Dr. Rogers, to whom and lady, if you please, give my compliments, but without putting them in mind of "oscula libavit." I think Mr. Muir must be very reprehensible for giving out such a psalm. I really pity your congregation so fatally divided. When you have com-

pleted your plan about [the] magazine, I will co-operate as far as my circumstances will permit. I thank you for your attention to my interest, of which I have had repeated proofs. Spotswood would have engaged me a ¼ of the whole Columbian, but he said it was not worth my acceptance. When you can "make up your mind" on the matter, I shall expect to hear from you. I think it will be for Trenchard's interest to unite with you. How stands your affair with Congress? Will the present *Rump* Congress take it up, or refer it over to the new body? You will have Langdon and Wingate from New Hampshire, both your friends. I am unacquainted with the members from this State, except my old classmate and chum, George Patridge, from Plymouth district. Do you know him? He has formerly been at Congress, and is a good man. Gerry will come from Middlesex. He is another classmate, but I have no communication with him. He never was very agreeable to me; and he disgraced himself, in my eye, very much last winter by his conduct in Convention. Trumbull, your rival, I see is chosen in Connecticut. I hope you will stand your ground.

Have you seen Dr. Gordon's History? A sheet or two of it passed through my hands the other day as wrapping-paper. I ran it over. It is just as I expected, — jejune, stiff, and unanimated.

Sunday evening.

I shall not be able to write to Trenchard by this post. I will attend to Dr. G.'s request respecting the plan. That which you sent me appears, from what I can judge at once, pretty correct; but I will examine and compare, and enquire. But pray tell me if these maps are for his book, and his book is *come over*. What can be the intention of his request to me, or what end can it serve?

My son is yet declining very slowly: a hectic is now set in. My family besides are well. I thank you for

your and Mrs. Hazard's kind condolence, and am, with best respects to her,

Your very affectionate

JERE. BELKNAP.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

BOSTON, February 18, 1789.

MY DEAR SIR, — I have, as you will see by the enclosed, complied with your desire respecting Trenchard. One thing, however, I must suggest (but you will keep it wholly to yourself). When Spotswood wrote to me that I was to carry on the work alone, he added that "he had a flattering prospect of *new resources*." From a letter and enclosures, which I received from Dr. Rush the other day, I suppose *he* is engaged as a writer. He says, after quoting a text of Scripture, "The time is short:" "This is my apology for troubling the world with so many of my opinions upon paper. A weak breast daily tells me that I hold my life by a precarious tenure." The enclosures are: A Moral Thermometer, and an Account of the German Inhabitants of Pennsylvania, which appear to be proof-sheets of a new number of the Columbian Magazine. I mention this, that you may be apprized what company you are likely to have, if you combine your interest with Trenchard.

Adieu. My son is no better.

Wingate is here, and will go on to-morrow for New York. He is your good friend, and so wishes to be

JERE. BELKNAP.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

NEW YORK, March 7, 1789.

DEAR SIR, — I have been disappointed in my intention of answering your letters for several posts, and even now

it is ½ after 10 o'clock at night. There is no disposition to treat the Monarch uncandidly; but, if ever I have any connection with him, I shall be very cautious. I think him a *trifling* character. Aunt Hazard talks strongly of visiting Charlestown, and of taking her husband with her, *when she goes.* It will rest with our new masters to determine it. It is not to be wondered at, if W. S. gives you some specimens of "*Ohioisms,*" as he is within *inhaling distance* of the vapors of that river. The transmigration of the animal into the vegetable, I think, is a *good one.* The President's note has been forwarded. It is a pity the information from Marietta had not been accompanied with some of either the *roots* or seeds of the plant. Do communicate the "plan for making a map of the country in a compendious way." Dr. Duffield's letter must have satisfied you about Peregrine Pickle, and probably contained extracts from the minutes of Presbytery.* Our Magazine is yet *in statu quo;* so is my affair with Congress. There was a report of the Committee handed in; but I understood it was withdrawn, to be altered before being entered on the minutes. It is said Mr. D. intended to put some Cayenne pepper in it; but, before it could be done, Congress died, and the new one never met, so that there is no report about it. Thus have the cunning been taken in their own craftiness. A member told me, t'other day, that it was evident to Congress that the whole originated in private pique, and nothing would have been done.

I have seen Dr. Gordon's History. You have a just idea of the style; but the book is valuable, as containing a great deal of useful matter. The Doctor expects a second edition will be called for, and wants corrections for that.

It is not improbable that Dr. R. writes for the Columbian Magazine. The Moral Thermometer is published in it, as well as the account of the Germans.

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* See note on p. 108. — Eds.

Wingate and Langdon, *cum aliis*, are here, but no House formed yet. I have called to see several of the members, and Gerry among the rest. He returned my visit to-day.

Morse's affair is no secret now. I cannot tell what Ma'am's fortune will be; but she will have something, and I believe M. will have a good wife. O yes, "seekers" enough! and numerous will be the disappointments.

I see many strange faces in town, and we are all alive.

Trenchard has not written to me yet. When I sent your letter, I wrote a line to inform him that, though I had received the January Magazine for Mr. Morse, none had come to hand for you or me as usual. I have received the January and February Magazines to-night, but no letter; so I suppose he is *thinking*. The man you tell me is now editor is a man of genius, a violent Anti-fed., poor as Job, proud as Lucifer, and of a quick and most outrageous temper. Our new federal edifice is not yet compleated, but is so near it that the members in town meet there daily, and adjourn. I suppose another week will finish it. How goes on the 2d volume of your History? A Mr. Vaughan (son to the Vice-President of the Philosophical Society at Philadelphia) tells me the 1st is much admired in England, where they wish for the second; and, if I understood him rightly, there is a bookseller in London who would have it printed, and give you *half the profits*. When you think of printing, I may perhaps hint to you a better plan.

Mrs. H. is gone to bed, but, if she was here, would send love to Mrs. B., as I do.

Good-night. EBEN. HAZARD.

P. S. I cannot meet with Knox's Essays yet.

NOTE. — The person designated as "Pickles" and "Peregrine Pickle" on the preceding pages was the Rev. William Pickle, who was deposed from the ministry by the Philadelphia Presbytery in 1787 or 1788. — EDS.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

Boston, March 14, 1789.

My dear Sir, — The plan for making a map, which I hinted at, was introduced by an observation made at Salem during the great fire in this town two years ago. A gentleman there saw the light of it, and took the bearing by his compass. This hint being communicated, accompanied with a proposal that the Academy would take some measures to form a map of the State, brought upon his legs a veteran lawyer, R. T. P.,* who seconded the motion, and thought it might be done very easily and *cheaply*, and without the help of a *chain*, which, he said, considering the inequality of the ground, was a very *uncertain* way of measuring distances, especially great ones. He proposed that beacons should be fired on hills, in the night, at appointed times, and observers stationed by them, furnished with *compasses, cannon*, and *watches;* that the bearings should be taken by the compasses, directed to the light; that the cannon should be discharged, and the distances judged of by the progress of sound, allowing a certain number of feet to a second. Such was the plan! This is nocturnal surveying! No allowance was proposed to be made for refraction of rays, nor variation of watches, nor different densities of medium, nor currents of air. No, all was plain, and void of difficulty. Now would it not be a curious improvement in geography to publish a map "drawn from actual surveys made *in the night*"? Who would not think the author *dreamt* his map, and drew it in his *sleep?*

Dr. Duffield has given me a full account of Peregrine, and I have sent it to Brother Buck; but I hear the creature is still at Exeter, and very popular.

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* Robert Treat Paine. — Eds.

Dr. Gordon's plan of this harbour is put into the hands of a very intelligent ship-master, who is a thorough pilot, for correction, if needed. I cannot get a *correct* plan of the streets, but such a one as can be had shall be sent you.

My 2d Volume has no more done to it than when I left New Hampshire. Two chapters only are written. Do tell me the "better plan," and who the London bookseller is. I have no great opinion of him to whom I sent some of the 1st Volume to sell.

Sunday evening.

My son is extremely ill, cannot lie in bed, and is almost worn to death by sitting up. His distress is beyond any thing that ever I was witness to. Adieu. Pray for us. Love to Mrs. H.

Yours affectionately, J. Belknap.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

New York, March 14, 1789.

Dear Sir, — The letter for Dr. Clarkson was received at night, and forwarded the next morning. His answer may be soon expected, and shall be duly attended to. I wish you had thought of writing to him sooner.

The Church of Rome has often felt the truth of her maxim, that "ignorance is the mother of devotion," and, I imagine, will have a new proof of it in her attempt at an establishment in Boston. Superstition cannot acquire many votaries in a country which has been so completely illuminated by the Gospel as New England; and the Abbé will probably find that though the laudable Catholicism of the day affords the most ample toleration and security to his sect, yet the people will not esteem it their duty to *pay* towards the support of a religion which they deem anti-christian.

Dr. Gordon's History *is* reprinting here, in 3 vols., 8vo, at half the price of the London edition, and is *daily* retailed in two of our newspapers. It is not done in either case "by the Doctor's desire," or with his knowledge; though I am inclined to think he expected it would be done. He is amply secured by European and good American subscriptions, and will probably make something handsome by his sales.

The birthday of the new Constitution was celebrated by the ringing of bells *here*, too; but we had no ideas of a *conflagration*. Congress is meeting, but sufficient numbers to form an house have not yet got together. Four Senators and eight Representatives are wanted to make a quorum. It is probable there will be enough next week to tell us who are President and Vice-President.

I am just informed that Trenchard is in town, and that he has come here to try to contract with the corporation of this city to supply it with *water* by conduits. I have not seen him, but suppose I shall.

There is nothing new among us. We are all anxious for Congress to get to work. The members present meet daily in the new Federal Hall, though it is not yet quite finished. It is really an elegant and magnificent structure. Some of the houses in its vicinity are to be pulled down to-morrow, and trees are to be planted where they now stand.

I am, with love to Mrs. Belknap, in which Mrs. H. cordially joins me,

Dear sir, yours affectionately,

Eben. Hazard.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

New York, March 28, 1789, 11 at night.

My dear Sir, — I have received yours of 18th, and *delivered* Mr. Trenchard the one it enclosed, for he is in this city at present.

We have talked a good deal about you, and I find his fears are alarmed lest he should lose you. He is very sorry he was opposed to the *first* plan of inducing you to settle in Philadelphia, when you left Dover; and, in short, you appear to have become in a sort *necessary* to him. He intends to write you that you may use the biographical pieces as you propose, and says the entry of his Magazine in the office was merely to prevent Carey's from taking liberties with him. I am mistaken, if he will not make you a generous offer. He seems to fear that my influence will unite you with the *Americans;* and, whether *they* proceed or not, you will probably be a gainer. If so, one of my ends will be answered. The Americans are *in statu quo;* and, from what I have seen, I suspect Th——s had better be there too.

The new Government is not yet organized. Neither Senate nor Representatives have been able to make a quorum, owing to bad roads, sickness in their families, &c., &c. I understand that only one Senator and two Representatives are wanting; so that we may hope to know with certainty in a day or two who are chosen President and Vice-President, and to see the beginnings of good government. Notwithstanding Juvenal remarks that *Fronti nulla fides,* I confess I cannot help feeling a little prejudiced in favour of our new legislators from their appearance. Those who are here, in general look like men of business, and appear to feel the importance of the business they have come here upon. They complain much of their being kept so long idle. As I feel under obligations to Russel, and it

will be of importance to him to have the latest intelligence, I wish you to communicate this to him, and let him know that it is by my desire; but *he* is not to mention who it comes from.

I will try to find out what T. gives his writers.

Mr. Morse is here on his way to Charlestown. He is gone to bed, and expects to sail for Newhaven in the morning, and to be with his flock to-morrow week. He is just returned from Shrewsbury. He must be there again in May.

Your situation calls forth our tenderest sympathy. Faint not under Divine rebukes; eye not only the rod, but the hand that hath appointed it. Afflictions, we know, spring not out of the dust; and, though they may be severe, they are proofs of a Father's love. They should lead us nearer to him; and, if they do, the time will come when even the remembrance of them will be sweet.

Give my love to Mrs. B. Mrs. H. would add hers, if she were here; but she and all the family are gone to bed, and I can hardly keep my eyes open long enough to write. Good-night.

EBEN. HAZARD.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

NEW YORK, April 4, 1789.

MY DEAR SIR, — The plan of Boston which you sent came safe, and shall be forwarded to Dr. G. with the subsequent remarks. I wish you may find leisure to compleat your 2d Vol. There is a spirit of reading and enquiry prevailing now, which, I think, will make a demand for it. The "better plan" I thought of was to agree with some bookseller in London for the copyright for *European* sales. I think you might get something handsome for it; and, as the book is printing here, you could send over the sheets to him, so that he might publish these nearly as soon as

you would here. This appears to me very feasible, as I understand your 1st Volume is much approved in England. Many people in America, I am told, will not purchase the first, *because* the work is incomplete. Stockdale and Dilly seem to be the two London booksellers who are most eager after American publications. I will see if I can find any thing about Penn for you, particularly upon the subject you hint at. The Manor of Pennsbury lies on this side Bristol. Don't you recollect riding through a large tract of wood pretty soon after you left Bristol in coming to New York? That is it. I have never seen the house, but am informed it is near the river; and I have lately seen it advertised for sale. I have never heard of the river's running three times round it. With respect to the degrees of latitude, I have been told Penn intended to play Lord Baltimore a trick, but fell himself into the snare. The anecdote was lately communicated to me, but I do not recollect it fully: you shall have it hereafter.

The death of your son is an event we have expected for some time past. From the strength of our own attachment to our children, we can have some idea of the pain which you must have felt on this occasion; and, when nature is unsupported in such trying circumstances, the prospect of a separation must be dreadful. But this was not your case. We thank our Heavenly Father that he gave you consolation in the midst of your distress, and such comfortable evidence of your son's interest in a Redeemer's love. The reflection must alleviate your grief: it should wipe all tears on account of this bereavement from your eyes. It rests with you to make a suitable improvement of this dispensation, nor will you neglect it; and, while from this chastisement you may argue your interest in your Father's love, endeavour to find out the cause of the affliction, that it may be guarded against in future. Through the strength of temptation, the allurements of the world, and the deceitfulness of our own hearts we are prone to wan-

der from God; and the corrections of his hand are as necessary to reclaim us as the restraints of his grace to prevent our wanderings.*

April 5th.

Please to give my compliments to Mr. Russel, and inform him that, in consequence of the arrival of Col. Richard Henry Lee this day from Virginia, there is a quorum of the *Senate* in town, so that we may expect the new government to go into immediate operation.

Mr. Wingate has this moment come in, and desires me to give his love to you, to which I add that of Mrs. H. and

Your very sincere friend,

EBEN. HAZARD.

P. S. Thank you for the sermon.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

BOSTON, April 20, 1789.

MY DEAR SIR, — Lest I should not be able to write you a letter at the end of the week, when it is most natural and usual, I will begin one now, on Monday morning; though, from a cold of some days' continuance, my head does not feel in tune for any kind of exercise. I have three of yours among my unanswered letters.

With respect to the plan of Boston which Dr. Gordon desires, I sent you the latest that has been engraved here. It is an appendage to "a Directory" which has just come out. Both the book and the plan are very imperfect; and I believe there is no more correct one than Mr. Pelham's, a brother-in-law or nephew of Mr. Copley, the celebrated painter. I have it now by me (a borrowed one). Dr.

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* Samuel Belknap, Dr. Belknap's second son, died on the 28th March, 1789, after a lingering illness, in the eighteenth year of his age. He had been for some years in the store or counting-house of his uncle, Samuel Eliot, in Boston. See "Life of Jeremy Belknap, D.D.," pp. 171, 172. — EDS.

Gordon can easily get it in London, where it was engraved and printed about ten years ago. I suppose, if you inform him of this, it will do as well as if I wrote to him myself.

I remember a forest of oak and hickory on an extensive plain between Trenton Ferry and Bristol, and that the road approached the river in one or two places. That by your account is Pennsbury: no matter for the treble island. "Old Nick's son" * was a name given by Cotton Mather, whose Magnalia is treated very contemptuously by that author, and yet his own work is full of blunders and misrepresentations.

The plan you have chalked out for an European edition of my work is the same which you mentioned to me before the first volume was published. I then applied to Longman for the purpose, and could find no encouragement. Perhaps a more enterprising bookseller might *now* be willing to risque an edition. I will think of it, and write by some of our London ships.

The news which you sent to Russel had got here before, and was printed in his Centinel. It came by Mr. Bourne, who brought the express message to Mr. Adams.

I have taken the liberty to publish in our papers your remark on the Catholic Church in this place, with a small addition. I believe it has done good. The Abbé has been about begging, the *holy week* not having sufficiently replenished his coffers. Several gentlemen to whom he applied objected the absurdity of his expecting to receive offerings from those whom he had excommunicated. One told him, if he wanted money *as a man*, he had some at his service, but none for him *as a priest*. Another asked him whether, if any of our churches wanted repairing, he would assist. He answered, "Vat, help de heretic, O no." The reply then was, "If you send us all to the D——l, you must not expect any of our money." I know not

* The reference here is to J. Oldmixon, the author of "The British Empire in America." London, 1708; second ed., 1741. — Eds.

what step he will venture upon next. He came to my lecture last Friday evening dressed in his *toga;* but I have never had any conversation with him, nor have I ever attended any of his exhibitions.

We have been reading Mr. Morse's book. Our folks, observing the compliment which he pays the ladies of New Jersey, remark that, if Mr. Webster was to write a book of Geography, the Boston ladies would probably stand a chance for a compliment. It is not impossible that he may throw one into his book of education, which is printing here.

I wish M. had left out the astronomical part, and the very small sketches of Europe, Asia, and Africa, and particularly the insanity of George III. The American part would have been enough, and the most of that is new; at least, it had never been so well collected and presented at once. I wish, too, that he had not decided on dogmatical points, as in his account of the Moravians. However, I think, on the whole, it is a good book, and will prove *fruitful* to him.

By this time, I suppose you have got the Vice-President, and in a day or two more will have the President, with you; and thus the political machine will be set a-going. May a blessing attend its movements. I think it must be a great advantage to General Washington to have a man of so much political knowledge as Mr. Adams constantly at his elbow. An union and mutual confidence between two such truly great characters must augur well to the United States. What will become of North Carolina and Rhode Island? Do they not both owe money to the Continental treasury? and, if so, how is it to be paid? How will you manage your post-office matters with them, if they still continue to excommunicate themselves? By the way, Mr. Morse tells me he wrote to me from New Jersey a letter, which I never received. I have enquired of Hastings, and can hear nothing of it. I was apprehen-

sive it might have been in the mail which fell into Connecticut River in crossing Springfield ferry; but Hastings says all those letters came on, and mine was not among them. I have received no answer from Dr. Clarkson relative to the statement which I sent him. Can you tell me the reason? Now I have mentioned Hastings, it brings to mind an anecdote which Dr. G. has given out in his "History" concerning the word *Yankee*. The publication of this is a cruel reflection on a very honest family in Cambridge, from which Jonathan originated. It is true the name sticks to them, and probably will; but it hurts poor Jonathan to have it in print. Nor has G. by any means hit upon *the origin* of the name. I have been told that *Yankee Doodle* is an old English ballad, — as old, perhaps, as Chevy Chase. Did you ever see or hear of it? Is there not a collection of old ballads by Thomas Hearne, the antiquarian? It may be that Yankee originally meant, as Gordon says, *fine, excellent*, and it may be that the word was used by old Hastings, and laughed at by the students; but I suspect the word was brought by our ancestors from England, as were several others which are now almost obsolete; and the Hastings family have the odium of having involuntarily preserved it as a nick-name annexed to them. I have heard a word used by some of the old people in Dover, — *cantankerous*, which is almost forgotten, even in that quarter. It means tough, crabbed, or something of that sort. Goldsmith uses it in his play "She Stoops to Conquer," — "a cantankerous bitter toad;" and, but for this, I should not have known that the old people brought it from England with them. The English may laugh at us as much as they please; but they ought to remember that their ancestors and ours were the same, and many things which they ridicule in us were *absolutely derived* from them. Instance the law proceedings against *witches*, the severity against *Quakers*, &c., &c.

Tuesday.

Yesterday Mr. Morse came to see me, and, in conversing on his Geography, he mentioned a plan concerted between you and him, in which he wishes me to take a share: to compile an Universal Geography. I received the communication with a diffidence proportioned to the magnitude of the object, but put it down among my consideranda.

Wednesday P.M.

Last evening I was told that the Abbé had collected 60 dollars in his mendicant capacity. I was glad to hear it *for one reason;* viz., that he had been employing some of our tradesmen in fitting up his chapel, buying candles and other necessaries for celebrating his *officia;* and I hoped he would pay his debts, so as not to put them to the necessity of sueing him, as such a step might possibly be construed into persecution. This day I am told that his clerk has decamped with the money, and left the poor Abbé to answer to his creditors. A writ has been served upon him, and probably others will be, as he certainly has run himself into debt to keep up the mummery of his profession. His chapel has answered the end of a puppet show to curious and idle folks, and the issue of the farce will prove a source of ridicule.

We have nothing new. You are in the focus of political knowledge, therefore I shall expect rich communications from the federal center.

Mrs. B. joins with me in the kindest salutations to you and Mrs. Hazard. When are we to expect you here? I am, dear sir,

Your affectionate friend, JERE. BELKNAP.

Have you got Garcilasso? Barnard has been gone about 10 days.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

New York, May 2, 1789.

My dear Sir, — I have received yours of April 20th, &c. I will forward the *Plan* to Dr. Gordon, with the information about Mr. Pelham's map. The forest you mention is Pennsburg. I did not recollect that I had before given you the hint about your book. (Indeed, I almost wonder how I remember any thing.) You have now a better prospect than formerly, as the London booksellers have some knowledge of your talents as an historian. Perhaps Dr. Gordon could assist you in finding a book-seller who would undertake the business. If he can, I think I can venture to promise that he will, upon application to him. I observed the *publication* in your paper. It was well enough, as nobody knew the writer. I think his Reverence will find he is upon a wrong plan.

I could not help remarking Morse's compliments to the Jersey ladies, myself. *Captus amore, et captus oculis*, are nearly synonimous expressions. I think "our author" has been too minute and prophetic for a geographer, which I intend to intimate to him. He will make money by his labours.

On Thursday last, our illustrious President took the oath of office. At 9 o'clock of that day, most of the religious societies of this city met in their respective churches, and spent about an hour in prayer, with particular reference to the new government. I have been told that the clergy had previously consulted together upon the subject; and that when the bishop of the church, formerly called the Church of England, was applied to for his concurrence, he replied that their church had always been used to *look up to government* upon such occasions, and he thought it prudent not to do any thing till they knew what government would direct. If the good bishop never prays with-

out an order from government, it is not probable that the Kingdom of Heaven will suffer much from his violence. The newspapers will inform you of the *public* proceedings.

I don't know what is to become of Rhode Island and North Carolina. I shall go on in the old way with them till I receive new orders.

It is not a little mortifying to me that you never received Dr. Clarkson's letter. It came to my hands, but after the Eastern mail had left the office. There was a letter from me to you in that mail. I thought it of importance that the Doctor's letter should go on without delay, and therefore either sent it to the stage-house, or carried it myself (I forget which), to go as a way letter. It was enclosed, I think, with one from Mr. Morse, and the cover had *my name* on it. As Providence ordered matters, the letter could have been of no use except as a proof of the Doctor's attention and sympathy. However, he did write, and I forwarded the letter. So much time has elapsed since, that I cannot, with precision, fix upon the faulty person, or I would certainly do it, and make him find the letter, too. It was an instance of unpardonable carelessness in the stage folks.

Mr. Morse proposed the geographical plan to me, and, like you, "I put it down among my consideranda;" but I have neither leisure nor abilities equal to such an undertaking.

May 3.

Monsieur l'Abbé must be in a distressing situation; and so must his clerk, notwithstanding he is in possession of the 60 dollars, for I think robbing the church is not a *venial* sin. To those who have no interest in the business, the story is laughable enough. Congress have chosen Dr. Provost and Mr. Linn their chaplains. By way of saving time and *money*, they have ordered a bill to be brought in for the *impost*, and intend to have a sep-

arate one for *tonnage*, which was at first designed to have been included in the same Act.

Mrs. H. and Master Sam sat out by water for *Shrewsbury* at 4 o'clock this morning. They are not expected to return before the *nuptials* are celebrated. I shall not be able to be present at the ceremony, for I find Congress expect information from me of what is necessary to be done about my department; and I am engaged in drawing up an act which will fully communicate my ideas, and will take some time. Moreover, I find the old P. M. G. has come here to solicit for my office, and have been told there will be another competitor or two; and though I do not apprehend any alterations will be made in offices which are already filled, yet it will not do to be out of the way when the loaves and fishes are dividing, lest it should be thought I have eaten and am satisfied, and my share should be given to somebody who is hungry.

I expect Mr. Morse here next Saturday night, on his way to New Jersey.

With love to Mrs. Belknap, I am, dear sir,

Yours affectionately, EBEN. HAZARD.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

BOSTON, 2d May [1789], evening.

MY DEAR SIR, — I have had a fatiguing week, and have been very sick part of the time; nor am I well yet. Mr. Morse's instalment was well conducted, and every one seemed to be pleased. He has the character of an agreeable and a growing man, and I am glad he is settled where he can have so many literary advantages as at Charlestown. You have not given me the character of his intended bride.

I never was much acquainted with Fenno. He is ingenious and sprightly; has in some sort been an adju-

tant-general to Russel in the printing way, particularly in the Poet's Corner. He failed in business here, and has gone to New York, in hopes of retrieving matters in the printing way; and I wish him success, because I believe he is clever.

Nothing can add a greater lustre to General Washington than the deep sense of religion which seems to fill his soul. O my friend, it is the best of omens. "In all thy ways acknowledge Him, and He shall direct thy steps."

Have you seen Mr. Necker's treatise on the importance of religious opinions? It is excellent. Does it not seem as if religion was coming into vogue among the great? Adieu, my friend, and believe me, with love to you and yours,

Your ever affectionate and grateful

JERE. BELKNAP.

P. S. We have lost the Abbé.* He has gone, they say, to Maryland, to answer to Dr. Carrol, his superior, for some misconduct. He is, I believe, but a speckled bird.

My letter to Fenno was to desire him to send me his paper; and I expected it to-night, but am disappointed. When you see him, I wish you would tell him to send me the papers *from the beginning*. He must be correct, or he will not succeed.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

BOSTON, 8 May, 1789.

MY DEAR SIR, — I have a budget to open, and scarcely know on what subject to begin. General Washington is the greatest and best man that ever appeared at the head

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* This was the Abbé La Poterie, a chaplain of the French navy. See Bowen's "Picture of Boston," p. 130; Proceedings Hist. Soc. for March, 1858, p. 308. — EDS.

of any nation since the days of Moses and Joshua. His speech, his answers to the various addresses, shew such a spirit of devotion, modesty, patriotism, firmness, and integrity, that his country may well expect honour and safety under his administration. By his resolution of seeing company only two days in a week, he seems to have devoted himself to business, and to have adopted that maxim of one of the Emperors, — *Decet imperatorem stantem mori.*

Much, I find, has been said upon the duty of 6 cents on molasses, both in Congress and here. I am sorry they will not hearken to what the members from this quarter have suggested. If the object is to ruin our distilleries, they have made it *too apparent at once*, and the means which they have adopted will be totally ineffectual. Do they not know that the sea-coast of this State is as favourably adapted for smuggling as any part of the world? Do they not know that the people are long practised and very adroit in this art? Are they so weak as to rely on the *honour* of mercantile people to support the Constitution, and increase the revenue, when so contrary to their private interest? If the duty is finally fixed at 6 cents, they will gain no revenue from it, and will not discourage distillery. If they reduce it to 3, it will probably be paid. I wonder that men of such sagacity, as some of the speakers undoubtedly are, should run the risque of imposing a duty so unpopular at the commencement of the Constitution. We have been in a state of disaffection to government for many years, and I was in hope we should *now* have one that would conciliate us; but, if they press this matter, they will find their laws evaded (and General Gage once wrote to the British Ministry, in 1774, that this people were "very dexterous at evasions"), their revenue officers insulted, and this branch of revenue totally unproductive. Molasses is used here in great quantity as *food*. The bakers consume a great

deal for gingerbread; scarcely a family but uses from 10 to 20 gallons in a year. They might as well lay a duty on *milk*. You may depend upon it, that, if this matter is pushed, smuggling will be practised, everybody will connive at it, and Congress will not be able to prevent it.

The Jersey girls have shown as much attachment to General Washington as the militia of that State did of alertness in the time of the war. They sung him into their State at Trenton, and sung him out at Elizabethtown Point.

Will Mr. Morse bring *a singer* to Charlestown? Now I have mentioned him, I must tell you the reasons which I have for disapproving the giving up part of his salary. I doubt not that his motives were good; but the same goodness, if he had considered the matter more attentively, would have led him to a different conduct. Salaries are generally ticklish things, and the increase or diminution of them produce difficulties either on one side or the other, or both. Most ministers have *less* than enough; very few, or none, a surplus. Suppose, then, that a minister in the neighbourhood of Charlestown was pleading for an increase of his salary: what effect would the giving up a part of Mr. Morse's have upon it? Would they not say, There is your brother M., he is content with less, and why cannot you? He shews that he is not "after the fleece, but the flock" (a very favourite expression on such occasions). Thus a plea which ought to be attended to, and might be well founded, will be silenced at once; and Mr. M., though he meant perfectly well, may be the occasion of doing an injury to his neighbour. A minister should consider, not only what he can or ought to receive, but what the people can or ought to give. If they are able and willing to give 11 dollars per week, he ought to *receive* it. If it is more than he wants, there are ways enough in which he may dispose of it to serve the interests of his people; but, if he declines accepting it, he may do an injury to his neigh-

bours and to his successors. I had experience of this kind, when I lived at Dover. I had only my salary to live upon. A rich neighbouring minister had a less salary than I, but was able to live independent of his people; and one year, in the course of paper money, he gave up his salary at a time when I was struggling to have mine made good. It had an ill effect on my people. *Good* Mr. Pike was highly celebrated, and poor Mr. B. was censured as a discontented, uneasy creature. The only way in which Mr. M. can remedy the matter *now* is to receive his 11 dollars after the time is expired for which he gave up 1 dollar per week. This will be doing *justice* to his people, to his neighbours, and to his successors.

I thank you for your kind hints about my 2d volume of the History of New Hampshire. If Trenchard will let me alone, I will endeavour to pursue it. I have got to finish Penn's Life, and am waiting for your *anecdote* about the controversy between him and Lord Baltimore. In the mean time, I have got to transcribe my sermon, preached at Charlestown, for the press, — a labour equal to that of originating two. Pray who or what is the Mr. *Linn* whom the House of Representatives have appointed their chaplain? I never heard of him before.

In addition to what I wrote about Fenno, I would inform you that he is the son of an ale-house keeper in this town. Being a good penman, his first employment was as an usher in a writing-school. He then went into trade, imported largely just at the close of the war, sold at disadvantage, kept it up awhile, then compounded with his creditors, and finally left this place to give scope to his genius in the conducting a newspaper. He has poetical talent, is industrious, has a retentive memory, and is a person respected and beloved by his friends. I never heard any thing ill of him. I think it will be well for you to encourage him, if, as you say, he visits and puts himself in your way. It is probable that the fertility of

his genius may produce redundancies which may need the pruning-knife. It is a great mortification to me that I have lost Dr. Clarkson's letter, and Morse's. Pray let the Dr. know of the accident. It is probable it may have been left at Springfield ferry. I hope your rivals will not succeed, but that you will continue to fill the station you now occupy. Mrs. H. will probably be absent when you receive this. My respects to Mr. Wingate; and tell him, for the honour of New England, not to consent to the duty on molasses. If Mrs. H. was to hear this, she would shake her sides. Adieu.

Yours, J. Belknap.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

New York, May 14, 1789.

My dear Sir, — I am pleased to hear that every thing went, and goes on, so well at Charlestown. The people, I think, will be pleased with both him and his intended. She is a valuable young woman, and I believe truly pious. She is the grand-daughter of Dr. Finley, formerly President of N. Jersey College.* Mr. Morse left us yesterday morning for Shrewsbury, and I think it not improbable that he is married by this time. The enclosed is for him. Mrs. Hazard left me last Sabbath week, with our son; and they have been at the Judge's ever since. I expect them back, with the other wedding folks, the beginning of next week. Post just going. Love to Mrs. B.

Yours, Eben. Hazard.

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* She was the daughter of Judge Breese, of Shrewsbury, N.J. — Eds.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

New York, May 16, 1789.

My dear Sir, — Yours of the 8th inst. is before me. With respect to the impost, I think it probable there will be some alterations made in it. Molasses has already been reduced to 5 cents; but it will not do to take the parts of the system, and consider them absolutely apart. Some of them will bear hard upon some States, others on others; but I am inclined to think that, take the whole system together, it will operate pretty equally. If each State might reject such part as it disliked, we should have no system at all, and Government could not be supported. In the present state of things, mutual concessions must be made for the common good.

I believe Mr. M. will take a "singer" to Charlestown, but not one of those who sung the President either into or out of the State. I think she has learned psalmody. The reasons Mr. M. assigned to me for giving up the dollar per week were: the losses the people had sustained by the war; the present impoverished state of their commerce; and the expence they must be at in building an house for him. These considerations certainly have weight in them; and reasonable people, who were not in the same circumstances, would never think of improving Mr. M.'s conduct into an argument for their minister's doing likewise. However, the deduction, or abatement, is to be made only for two years; and then, I suppose, he will revert to the original contract, which I think will be right.

I am sorry I cannot yet send you the anecdote of *Penn*. The gentleman has *promised* it to me; but I do not find him as ready to look over his papers as I should be, to oblige him. When I see him again, I will try to get it *verbally*, at least.

Mr. (now Dr.) Linn is an excellent preacher. He was formerly a Presbyterian minister, and settled at Elizabeth Town, where the people were very kind to him. While he was there, the Low Dutch Church wanted an assistant for Dr. Livingston (of this city), and in an underhanded way tampered with him. He listened to them, and agreed to accept their offer; and the first notice his congregation had of his design to remove was given by himself, from the pulpit. He was pretty severely handled for it by the Presbytery, when he applied for his dismission. It is supposed his *wife* liked New York best, and tempted him. When Congress wanted chaplains, his friends were indefatigable in making interest for him; and it is said (and I believe with truth) that he *personally* applied to the members.

His congregation, which is a very rich one, gives him £400 per annum, and finds him an house; and yet his great poverty was assigned as the reason why they wished the appointment for him, and it has been mentioned as the reason why he was chosen; so that he has got the appointment upon the footing of an act of charity. Since his election, we have had a Commencement here, and six Doctors of Divinity baked in one batch. He was one of them.

I can recollect but two ministers in the city, except Methodists, Baptists, and Moravians, who are not D.D.; and, of these, one is but just come among us, and the other is not settled. This last ought to be doctorated, for he seems to know more about divinity than any of them; for, in an ordination sermon preached here before his Bishop and other clergy, in which he decried all except Episcopal ordination, he asserted that, under the law, Bishops were made by carnal procreation (this was adding a fine parcel of links to the chain of uninterrupted succession!) but, under the Gospel, by imposition of hands; and that common ministers could beget *children* for the

church, but bishops only could beget *fathers*. Is not he fit for a doctor? Mrs. H. is still absent. Fenno says you can get his paper from the beginning, and be regularly supplied, in future, in Boston, — I think by Russell. Give my love to Mrs. Belknap. I am, dear sir,

Your friend, EBEN. HAZARD.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

BOSTON, Sunday evening, 24th May, 1789.

MY DEAR SIR, — I received yours of 16th last evening, and, being now about to attend a funeral, can write but shortly. I heard Mr. Morse's reasons before, and fully believe that his motives were benevolent; but still I disapprove the action. However, I have no reason to think that any ill use *will* be made of it by *un*reasonable people, though it might, in some circumstances, serve as a handle for such conduct as I mentioned. When your Columbia College is in the humour of making doctors, I would recommend to them a *M. Sayre*. I know not whether he is the person whom you speak of as adding links to the chain of uninterrupted succession; but, if he is not, he is one of the same complexion. I will give you a specimen of his language while he preached at Newport. He is now said to be gone southward. It was in a sermon on Matthew 5, 20: *Except your righteousness*, &c. "If I did not believe that the Church was the Kingdom of Heaven; that a minister, lawfully ordained by a bishop, hands the forgiveness of sins and eternal life from his Master, who is both in heaven and upon earth, to every fit subject of baptism, when he baptises that subject; that such a minister has power to bind and loose upon earth, — that is, to forgive sins or to retain them, to administer *full pardon* of sins in absolution to the really penitent and believing; and that his regular

exercise of the discipline of the Church, in admitting to the Holy Supper, and excluding from it, was to all intents an admission into the *real and true* Kingdom of Heaven, and an exclusion from it, — I should hold myself obliged, as an honest man, to tell my people that they acted like blind and ignorant enthusiasts in building and consecrating a church and retaining a minister, and that all the transactions in church were only a more solemn sort of theatrical exhibition."

This is the language of Bishop Seabury. This is one of his minions; and it was against this kind of usurpation that I levelled some part of my charge at Mr. West's ordination, and some part of my sermon at Mr. Morse's. I hope to send you one of the latter by next post.

I suppose the "Brethren of the Roll and Rose" will look sour at me for it. I think one of them does; but such arrogance, and even *blasphemy*, for it certainly approaches very near to it, ought to be checked; and our people ought to know what is the *real and true* ministerial character, and to distinguish it from all counterfeits. Adieu. My time is short. Love to Mrs. H.

Yours, JEREMY BELKNAP.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

NEW YORK, May 28, 1789.

MY DEAR SIR, — I do not recollect having received a letter from you since my last. Mrs. Hazard has returned, and brought with her the happy pair, and Miss Breese, whom you formerly saw at my house. Mr. Morse is thinking of journeying eastward. He has been most villainously treated by his printer again. He intends to expect the *whole* sum stipulated for, after the expiration of two years. I fear you will have to do without the anecdote of Penn, after all. The gentleman has repeat-

edly promised it, but has not leisure to look over his papers. He once promised to call at my house and give it to me verbally, but he has not done it. The following is the story, as nearly as I can recollect his first information upon the subject: That Pennsylvania was to be bounded by the *beginning* of the three and fortieth degree of north latitude; that Penn began to count *from the 44th* southerly, and found he should not reach the Delaware; that he supposed the land between him and the Delaware to belong to Lord Baltimore, who was in England, and knew little about the situation of his lands; that Penn, in short, determined to deceive Lord Baltimore (and I think had two different maps for the purpose), and get a most valuable tract of country for a song; that, at length, Penn brought Baltimore into his scheme, and immediately had writings drawn, conveying the land, and gave Baltimore his bond for a certain sum of money; that Penn afterwards found the land was within his own patent, and refused to pay, and Baltimore sued his bond, and recovered.

I shall give Fenno all the encouragement I can, for I think he deserves it. His paper is, in my opinion, the best calculated for general use of any I know. He goes upon a *continental* scale, and does not appear to be influenced by *local* politics.

I have lately heard from Dr. Gordon. He expects his first edition will all be sold in a few months, and that a second will be wanted. Dr. Ramsay is in treaty with printers about his. We have nothing new here. Congress go on slowly and harmoniously. Mrs. Washington has arrived, which doubtless adds to our good President's happiness. Love to Mrs. Belknap, in which Mrs. H. joins. I am, dear sir,

Your affectionate

EBEN. HAZARD.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

Boston, 30th May, 1789.

My dear Sir, — The sermon was delayed a whole week by the extreme diffidence of the gentleman who gave the charge,* who was all that time considering whether he would give a copy of it or not; and it did not get to the press till yesterday morning.

You will see Mr. J. Adams's speech in this day's Centinel; and you will, I trust, entertain the same opinion of his "devout wish" that I do.

I suppose, by this time, Mr. Morse is on his way to Charlestown, and that by the end of next week we shall see him and his beloved.

Dr. Stevens is to preach for me to-morrow. His dear daughter, Mrs. Buckminster, it is feared is in a decline, having just produced a third child. The good Doctor is expecting, but yet hoping. He will transfer his affection to the grandchildren.

The large, *undirected* packet inclosed contains a few sermons for my friends in Philadelphia, which you will please to direct to Dr. Clarkson. The *smaller* is for W. Sargent, at Marietta.

Mr. Morse told me of a Mrs. Belknap, an old maid in New York, of a pious and amiable character, a member of Dr. Rogers's church. I wish that one of the sermons may be given to her. I should send you more, but suppose you will receive some from Mr. Morse; and I have a numerous list of friends to whom I would wish to send on this occasion. I hope, ere this, that Mrs. Hazard has returned from Shrewsbury, and that you have received a new commission from Congress.

Adieu, and believe me ever yours, Jere. Belknap.

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* The Rev. Joseph Jackson, of Brookline, who assisted at the installation of Mr. Morse, at Charlestown, 30th April, 1789. — Eds.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

Boston, June 2, 1789.

My dear Sir, — I have received no letter from you for several posts. I suppose you are very much engaged, as it must be about the time for you to be reappointed, as I hope and trust you will be. We had, yesterday, the artillery election, an account of which you will see in the papers. Washington's picture was exhibited, and his praises sung in Faneuil Hall with great ardor and sincerity. The most extraordinary part of the story is that Governor H. had a *convenient* fit of the gout, and could not appear on the Common, the usual place where the old officers resign and the new ones are invested. However, Lincoln proved himself an *older* general, by insisting on a personal interview, and actually entering the bed-chamber, where the ceremonies were performed under the inspection of the physician and nurse. Much risibility was thereby occasioned among those who know the *real* character of the popular idol.

The enclosed was inadvertently *superscribed*. If you put it into the office, it will be well enough.

We are all well, through mercy; and I am

Your affectionate friend,

J. Belknap.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

New York, June 6, 1789.

Dear Sir, — Thank you for the sermon, but have not had time to read it yet. Shall send Miss Belknap's. I dare say she will be delighted upon the occasion. Mrs. H. has returned, as I think I have before informed you. Mr. and Mrs. Morse, I suppose, are at Woodstock to-night, and will be at Charlestown this night week.

What a diffident gentleman Mr. Jackson must be! Mr. A.'s "*wish*" is a good one. I have no great opinion of his *devotion;* and I think there is, even in the mode of expressing the wish, a Jesuitical hint of *fear*. There is something like, All's well that *ends* well.

Mrs. Langdon had told me of Mrs. Buckminster's situation about an hour before I received your letter. The information is really distressing. Should Mrs. B. die, I think it probable the good Dr. will not long survive her. No new commission yet, nor perhaps for some time; but I expect there *will be* one. How clever it is to have the absolute command of the gout! If I had it, I need not be sitting now with *both my feet* on a pillow, and, like Admiral Byng, "curiously wrapped in flannel," and carded wool, which is my present situation.

The bed-chamber scene must have been curious. It would make a good subject for a caricature. Oh, what a *twinge!* This won't do. Good-bye.

Eben. Hazard.

7th.

Feet something better. Have read your sermon with the pleasure the productions of your pen always afford me.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

Boston, 6th June, 1789.

My dear Sir, — Do you know the gentleman to whom the enclosed is directed? I send it open for your perusal, and beg the favour of you to have enquiry made at his brother's (where I have directed it), whether he is in New York, or has come on to Boston. If he has come, please to return the letter to me.

Having made a proposal to Spotswood about reprinting the "Foresters," he has made me an offer to "advance

paper, printing, and binding, and the profits on the sales to be mutually divided, each of us to make the necessary exertions to promote its circulation, the expences to be paid for out of the first sales." Before I finally close with his proposal, I wish to know whether there is any prospect of an Act of Congress respecting literary property. He desires me to appoint some person in Philadelphia to correct the press. Do you know of anybody equal to the business, or that will attend to it, and whom I could trust with *the secret*, for a secret it must be that I am the author, *if it can be?* Tell me, also, what you think of the matter, as I have stated it to you and to Mr. Joy; and tell me, also, whether it is your opinion that such a thing might have any sale in *France*. I have an acquaintance with the French Consul here, and could safely trust him with it, and by his interest get it translated and introduced into that kingdom. You are my privy councillor, and I depend much on your judgment.

I have seen in the papers some account of Captain Hutchins, lately deceased; and, from what is there said, I think he ought to be noticed in the *American Biography*. Pray can you give me any farther account of him, or direct me where any thing may be found?

No letters from you by this evening's post. Our love to Mrs. Hazard. Are glad to hear, by your last, of her return from Shrewsbury. We expect the bridegroom and bride the latter end of next week. Mr. Carey says they are to quarter with him till a house be provided.

Adieu. Yours,

J. Belknap.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

New York, June 12, 1789.

My dear Sir, — I had a terrible night last night, and, after being in bed about an hour, was forced to get up and sit in the easy-chair, then take an anodyne, then go to bed again; and, after a great deal of tumbling and tossing, I at length got to sleep, and lay till near noon to-day. I am now tolerably free from pain; and, having sent to the post-office, have, in consequence, had a *tête-à-tête* with you. I am not acquainted with Mr. Joy, but am told he is to sail next Sabbath for England. I will contrive to get your letter to him in season. As far as the Foresters have been published, I think Spotswood's offer is fair, because so far he has given you a compensation; and indeed, I think, *has purchased the copyright.* What is yet unpublished is in a different situation, being wholly yours; and I think you should have a compensation for admitting him to a right in it, which I do not conceive the bare *advance* of money for printing, &c., to be, because you are to repay half the sum advanced. It is, in fact, only lending you a sum for a short time, upon good security. Were he to be *at the expence* of the 1st edition, and *give you the half* of it for his share of the *copyright* of *the whole book*, it would more nearly meet my ideas of a compensation for you. On the other hand, he may plead that the *whole copyright of that part* of the Foresters which has been published *is his*, he having purchased it, and paid you your *full price* for it. This I take to be strictly true; and that, in *good conscience*, you ought not to use any part of it without his consent, though there is *no statute for securing it to him.* Suppose, then, the matter should be put upon this footing: that you should continue and compleat the work, and that you should admit him to half the copyright of a quantity of the book

(yet to be published), equal to what is already published, as a compensation for your being admitted to half of his copyright; *thus far* the work to be printed on the terms he proposes, the *remainder* to be printed at his sole expence, and one half *the edition* of this remainder (not the *profits* of it) to be yours, in consideration of his owning half the copyright of the *remainder*. You will then be equally concerned in the whole, and he ought to derive equal advantages with you from sale of copyright in Europe. If you see any thing like "Ægri Somnia" in all this, excuse it as the reverie of a gouty man. Talk with your brother Morse about copyright. He has revolved the subject thoroughly in his mind, and thinks *critically* upon it. You can state the case so as to keep the Foresters out of sight. I have no doubt there will be an Act of Congress for securing literary property. The business has been in the hands of a committee some time. Why cannot Spotswood correct the press himself? If not, cannot he get Dallas to do it? It is very probable that *he* is in *the secret*. It is properly the duty of the *printer* to have the press corrected, for he should deliver his work done in a masterly way. I do not think you have stated the matter to Mr. Joy so clearly as you intended, as you only desire him to enquire if either of the London booksellers will "*accept* the exclusive privilege of printing your History." I apprehend you mean to have some *quid pro quo*. It is probable a number of the Foresters would sell in France. But why do you propose publishing them in the form of letters? Will not their present form be equally advantageous?

I suppose Mr. Morse will be with you to-morrow night; *i.e.*, at Charlestown. If you see him, please to let him know you have heard from me, and all are well except myself. We all send love to Mrs. Belknap, Mr. and Mrs. Morse. I am, my dear sir,

Your affectionate EBEN. HAZARD.

June 13.

Lest Mr. Joy should misunderstand you, and make an *unintended* bargain for you, I have written him a note, intimating that you expect an allowance for the exclusive privilege of printing the History, — not to be interested in the editions, but a sum of money at once.

Captain Hutchins was worthy of a place in the American Biography, — a man of a good character, of polite manners, of great integrity, who made a regular profession of religion. He joined Dr. Rodgers's church some time ago. There is a gentleman in the town who, I believe, knows his whole history, from whom I will endeavor to get information.

I can tell you one anecdote of him. The Ohio Company purchased their tract on condition of paying 500,000 dollars at the time of signing the contract, and the remaining 500,000 upon a *return of the survey* being made. The payments were to be made in certificates, which, you know, bear an interest of 6 per cent. Of course the Ohio Company draw an interest of 6 per cent on 500,000 dollars till the return of survey is made. Captain Hutchins attended to this, and intimated it to Congress, as a reason why he should be sent, without delay, to make that survey. I mention this as a proof of fidelity in office. He went to do the business, and died before it was accomplished.

14th.

I sent your letter to Mr. Joy, who returned, for answer, that he would pay particular attention to it. Last night I received yours, enclosing a continuation of Penn's Life, which shall be sent to Trenchard. You will find some original letters from Penn in the last Museum. My feet are pretty easy to-day. The Columbian Magazine for May was not published last Wednesday.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

Boston, June 14, 1789.

Dear Sir,—Yesterday P.M. Mr. Morse arrived at Charlestown, of which I presume you will have particular information from his own hand. I was to have preached there this forenoon, if he had not come; but a message was sent to inform me yesterday before night.

I wish I was within speaking distance of you, wrapped in your flannel. Your gout is not of the worst kind, as I judge from the pleasant manner in which you inform me of it. There is one advantage attending it; and that is the *pleasure of recovery*. For this, I presume, you are a candidate; and, to comfort you farther, you will recollect that all happiness is comparative. You will experience this by and bye. Therefore, keep a good heart, my friend. Did you ever try the beefsteak poultice? I have found relief from it in a disorder of a similar kind. If my sermon has contributed to your entertainment, and alleviated one pang, I am so far happy. Nothing is a greater pleasure to me than to have the approbation of the wise and good.

I dined yesterday in company with Lieutenant-Governour A.;* and he talked about "personal and domestic rights," as in his late public speech. The liberty of the press is so valuable in his view, that he had rather be abused in print than that liberty should be abridged. Security of person and property, and trial by jury, were also mentioned as necessary to be considered. I hope that Congress will say something to make such people easy, whether it be called amendment, addition, or explanation.

Mrs. B. begs her sympathetic regards to her gouty friend, and we join in love to you both.

Our Church have this day chosen delegates to attend

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* Samuel Adams. — Eds.

the installation of Brother Evans at Concord, New Hampshire, the 1st of July. I am, dear sir,

Your affectionate friend,

JEREMY BELKNAP.

Mr. A. has been the subject of some "abuse," as he thinks, in Dr. G.'s History.

Suppose I was to pay Jonathan Hastings *thirty dollars*. Is the connection such that his order would be paid by Mr. Bryson to Mr. Spotswood? Or can you help in any other way towards my paying him?

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

BOSTON, June 20, 1789.

MY DEAR SIR, — I thank you for your care of my interest, when you are under so much affliction. It is, indeed, a proof of the truest friendship, and, as such, I esteem and accept it. But I do not fully agree with you in the idea of property which you have suggested, though I am far from regarding it as an *ægri somnium*. You suppose that "the copyright of that part of the F. which has been purchased is *his*, and that, in *good conscience*, I ought not to use any part of it without his consent, though there is *no statute* for securing it to him." Now, admitting that my asking and obtaining his consent is a decent step previous to my making up of the pieces already published, let me ask, What *exclusive* right he can have to them, if they are not secured by statute? Are they not common property? What objection (in a legal sense) could he make, if a third person was to quote, extract, or copy them in another publication? Well, if he has no exclusive right, what right has he? For what purpose did he pay for them? The answer is, For the purpose of publishing in his Magazine. He has done it, and, I presume,

has, by the sale of the work, repaid himself the expence, which was all his view. That he himself has no such idea of an *exclusive* right I conclude, partly from his own silence when I made him the proposal, and partly from the nature of the thing; for he must know that the parts of that Magazine lie at the mercy of every printer. And if it should be discontinued, as Aitken's is, Carey would pluck it, as he has done with respect to that. I suppose A. paid for many of those pieces (indeed, he told me so) which Carey now uses without scruple, and, I suppose, without censure. When the Columbian is a little more out of date, it may be retailed out in the same manner; and *the F.* may perhaps be taken among the rest, and who can help it? Now have not I as good a right as any person to make use of them in this manner? Certainly, Mr. S. cannot object to it. His letters to me express a sense of obligation for the help which I have afforded him; that he could not have kept up his Magazine (especially the last year) without me; and that he wished the profits of it would allow him to make me a *better* compensation than he has. The man has certainly conducted with much decency, respect, and gratitude towards me; and I have conceived a very favourable idea of him from the intercourse I have had with him. Considering this connection, I thought it most proper to consult him on the republication of what has already appeared, and of a continuation of it. His answer must be understood as implying a *consent;* so that I have no difficulty in point of *conscience* about it, and I apprehend that I shall do him *no wrong* in reprinting it by his assistance. The only question is, whether it be adviseable to accept his proposal, or make another; and here you have given your opinion with much judgment and candour, according to your idea of the property. But perhaps you will alter your idea after considering what I have suggested. If you should not, let me submit the following to you. I have received

9 guineas for the pieces already published. The whole, when completed, may be estimated at *a certain sum*. Let it be considered what advantage I have received by the payment of 9 guineas, and what advantage he has received by the sale of the Magazine in which these pieces are contained; and, if the advantage is on my side, let it be deducted out of the *certain sum* at which the copy shall be valued. This sum shall be my compensation for an *American edition*, or for the copyright *in America*. Or let the whole 9 guineas be deducted out of it, and the profits which he has made of the Magazine be considered only as the interest of his money, if it can be fairly so stated. In either of these cases shall I not stand fair *in foro conscientiæ;* and my application in England be no infringement on the right of any person in America? If it be not too much trouble, please to revolve the matter again, and give me your opinion. I shall wish to see the new Act of Congress before I *determine* on any thing. I have had some conference with Mr. Morse on *this* subject, and shall consult him farther, as I think his judgment is good.

Last Wednesday, Mrs. B. went with me, and dined at Mr. Carey's in company with the new bridegroom and bride. She appeared very pretty, and we were much pleased with her. This day, she has been at our house, and Mrs. B. has been about *shopping* with her. I did not see her, being obliged to attend a Committee of the General Court on College affairs. To-morrow, I am to exchange with Mr. Morse, A.M.; shall then see her again.

Adieu. It is very hot, and I shall not close my letter till to-morrow evening. I thank you for your anecdote of Hutchins, and shall be glad of more. I am in earnest about the biography. Have got another portion of William Penn roughed out, but can't as yet get time to copy it.

Sunday evening.

This morning before 9, the inclosed note arrived from Mr. Morse, which prevented my change with him. I had expected that he would be sick for some days, but I hope Nature is only making an effort to restore the equilibrium, and he will find the benefit of his present indisposition. Adieu.

Yours, J. Belknap.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

The gout has delayed the enclosed a little.

New York, June 21, 1789.

Dear Sir, — We were happy to hear of Mr. and Mrs. Morse's safe arrival at Charlestown, of which both you and he informed us. Your wish to be within speaking distance of me exactly agrees with my own. I know few things that would give me greater pleasure at any time, but especially at this. When the sight of anybody in addition to my own family is refreshing, that of my friend must be peculiarly so. What does Solomon mean by "as iron *sharpeneth* iron, so does the countenance of a man his friend"? Should it not be rendered "*brighteneth*"?

My gout is not "of the worst kind;" but I assure you candidly it is so bad that I would never wish for even such a fit merely for the sake of enjoying the "pleasure of recovery." The pain at times made me quite *spiteful*, and that is much for a man of my philosophy; especially one who studies to be *free from vexation*, like a true disciple of Cadogan. I never have tried the beefsteak poultice. All I do for the gout, as yet, is to have *quantum sufficit* of well-carded wool wrapped loosely round the foot, and then add a decent integument of flannel, so as to keep the foot in a constant perspiration, and then as

patiently as possible wait the issue. If I find the pain intolerable, I take about 25 drops of Warner's anodyne elixir. *Apropos*, have you ever read Warner "On the Gout"? He writes well from *experience*, and, though a divine, exceeds all writers on the gout. He is my magnus Apollo; and, having followed his directions, I am now in a convalescent state. I have this day put on shoes for the first [time]; but they have been bravely enlarged by scarifying all the upper leather. The short slits in alternate rows look very well over a piece of clean bright-red flannel.

I have no doubt Congress will attend to those things Lieutenant-Governour A. mentioned, and to others; but there are things which demand their more immediate attention. They appear to me to proceed upon right principles, and really to aim at the public good.

I am glad my friend Evans is likely to be fixed at last. He has been so long erratic, that I fear his character for stability has suffered. Did you ever hear him talk of his wife? *What a monster of perfection she is!* I have not yet had time to read Dr. G.'s History. By the last London ship, he sent me, as a present, a copy on what is called *wove* paper, very elegantly bound. I have read only the two 1st volumes. The Doctor is a valuable friend, but an indifferent historian. His collection of facts will be useful to some future writer who will hold a better pen.

I cannot help you in the remittance, *as you propose;* but I shall have money to pay Levi Pease (the stage-man) the 1st of next month. Perhaps it will be agreeable to him to receive the 30 dollars of you. If so, you can pay them to him, and take his receipt for so much paid by me through you, on account of the carriage of the mail for the quarter ending 1st July, and I can pay Spotswood in Philadelphia. Mrs. H. joins me in thanking Mrs. B. for her sympathy, and in love to you both. I am, dear sir,

Your friend,

EBEN. HAZARD.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

New York, June 25, 1789.

My dear Sir, — I have seen Mr. Pease, and told him of your thirty dollars, which he has agreed to receive. For this purpose I have given him a draught on you for that sum, which please to pay; and, on my receiving your orders, I will pay a like sum for you in Philadelphia.

Something is the matter with Trenchard. He mentions "family difficulties," and talks of coming to live here; but "for several very important reasons, best known to" himself, "begs it as a particular favor that" I will not let the purport of his letter be known to my "most *sacred* friend, except it is to the Rev. Mr. Belknap."

Mr. H. and family are well. I am in my office again, but cannot wear shoes yet. Shod or unshod, I am

Your affectionate Eben. Hazard.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

New York, June 27, 1789.

Dear Sir, — Your reasonings upon the copyright of the F. have converted me. I had different ideas before, but now conceive it belonged to S. only, *quoad hoc* the right of being the *first publisher*. This right he has enjoyed, and probably has derived advantage from it; and the work now seems to have become common property, except where secured by an entry in the Prothonotary's office, which, as you have his consent for republishing, can be no bar to you.

28th.

Mr. Morse's disorder, I apprehend, is of the bilious kind, and intend to advise him to an emetic whenever he may find it approaching. He had something of the same

sort when he was here. We hope it will not be of long continuance.

Penn's Life, received with yours of June 23d last evening, shall be forwarded to-morrow. I think it will be too late for the June Magazine. I never heard that any of his descendants were more famous for any thing than for their wealth. The estate (except the Manors) was taken from the family at the late Revolution by the State, and (I think) £120,000 sterling was to be paid them as a compensation, by instalments. One payment, I believe, has been made. The estate was taken under the idea of the danger arising to the public from one citizen's possessing so much wealth. I have heard the act condemned as unjust. I don't know whether any of the family now reside in Pennsylvania, but have an idea that one does.

My gout is so far gone that I have made out to hobble to church once to-day, to hear a Mr. McKnight preach, of whom our people appear to think highly. He seems to be a very sensible, judicious man, and such a preacher as I think the congregation will be pleased with, though he is plain in his manner.

Our good Dr. Rodgers is in a bad state of health, and I fear will not be much longer useful as a minister.

We are glad Mrs. M. proves so acceptable to you. How is it on t'other side of the water? It is very uncertain when, or whether ever, *we* shall visit Boston. Should Mrs. Breese go there, Mrs H. would strive hard to accompany her; but I suspect she will find *other* employment. Give love to Mrs. B. from Mrs. H. and your friend,

EBEN. HAZARD.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

Boston, July 4, 1789.

My dear Sir, — Last evening I returned from Concord, in New Hampshire, where I assisted in the installation of our friend Evans, on Wednesday last. He has got a very good parish at last. The town is much improved since I saw it, which is now 15 years. His wife is very agreeable, both in her person and manners. Some of his parishioners live handsomely, and are very polite (you know it is the court town of the State). We had a generous and elegant entertainment, at the expence of *two* gentlemen only, who by this exertion eased the town of the trouble of raising money to defrey the expence. The weather was severely hot all the time of the journey. Mr. Morse was my travelling companion; and he has picked up some hints for the improvement of his Geography, as well as I have for my intended History.

Mr. Pease called here yesterday. This morning I sent for him, and paid him the 30 dollars. I now send Mr. Spotswood an order, as you see. Be so kind as to give directions to Mr. Bryson along with it, and I will exchange receipts with you.

This day we have a fine rain. The bells are ringing for independence, and I am just going to hear the orations.

P.M.

We have had two orations this day, — one by Dr. Stillman. This is called the town oration. It was a middling performance, too narrative, too many quotations in it, and some of them *trite*, but pretty well delivered. The other, to the Cincinnati, by a Dr. Whitwell, who has been a surgeon in the army, — a puerile performance, not well committed to memory, ungrammatical, wretchedly delivered, the orator not being used to speak in public.

D. Rea was to have sung us a song, which you will see in Russel's Sentinel, but was indisposed, and it was indifferently sung by a Mr. Eaton. The whole ceremony of the day much *below par*.

As to Trenchard, he has never made himself much known to me. What you say of him renders him an object of pity. Spotswood wrote to me that he believed "the dissolution of the Columbian Magazine was approaching," but did not say how nor why. To your question, "How is it on t'other side of the water?" I answer that both Mr. M. and his wife are very agreeable to the people, and I hope and trust it will continue. If Mrs. Breese should come, Mrs. Hazard *must* come with her. Perhaps her "other employment" may receive no injury from a previous journey. A lady of my acquaintance was the other day taken in travail in a chaise, and I believe the motion contributed to a very easy, safe, and happy delivery. Exercise is certainly very salutary during the state of pregnancy; and I believe, also, that it is no bad preventative of the gout. You will therefore take it into very serious consideration, and let Levi Pease have the honour of conducting the P. M. G. and lady, and Judge B. and lady, to this town next autumn.

My daughter Sally is gone to Portsmouth, and from thence writes that Mrs. Buckminster is better. I hope it will continue. That part of the family which is at home are well, and unite in love to you and yours. Your sincere friend, JEREMY BELKNAP.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

NEW YORK, July 12, 1789.

MY DEAR SIR, — I am glad to hear of your safe return from Concord, and that you were so agreeably received and entertained there. Our friend Evans, I hope, will be comfortably and usefully employed at last. Your draft,

favour Spotswood, will be forwarded to-morrow, with directions for payment on sight. I could hardly help laughing when I compared your account of the orations with the "newspaperial." We had an oration, too; but I did not go to hear it. It was an address to the Cincinnati, which appears to me perfectly farcical. Would those gentlemen imitate the Roman whose name they borrow, they should return quietly to their former occupations, and not affect distinctions between themselves and other citizens, whose merits and sufferings were equal to their own.

Trenchard has not written to me since the letter I formerly mentioned to you, nor do I yet hear any thing of the Magazine for June.

We are happy to find our friends prove so agreeable to their new connections. I wish we could visit them and you, but I fear we must not expect it. We will see, by and bye, what *time* says to it.

My gout is gone, but my feet continue tender. A day or two ago, my *head* was so much disordered that I kept my bed the most of the day. This was not owing to the gout, but too much business. We have nothing new, except that we have agreed to call a minister, and our good doctor is declining fast. He could not preach this morning. Mrs. H. sends love, so does

Your friend, EBEN. HAZARD.

P. S. I see your printers don't let Dr. G. alone yet. There will be a call for a second edition of his History, in England, very soon. Somebody here (I don't know who) has been writing in his favour. I suspect it is a bookseller's trick to help the sale of the American edition, which is to appear soon; and the editors tell me they have 1,100 or 1,200 subscribers.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

Boston, July 18, 1789.

My dear Sir, — I am very glad to hear that the gout has left your feet; but, when you mentioned your *head* being out of order, I began to tremble. That head must not be over-exercised. I hope your new masters will allow you the means of obtaining some respite for it; and, if time will say yes to the idea of visiting Charlestown, I am persuaded that not only the head, but every other part of my friend, will receive benefit from the excursion.

The piece respecting Dr. Gordon's History has been reprinted here, and I have the same opinion of it which you expressed. Many people here are offended by different parts of that work. Among others, Mr. S. A. told me, the other day, that he was much hurt by what the Doctor says of an attempt to displace General Washington, in which he was concerned, and of an anonymous letter to which he is supposed to be privy. He solemnly affirmed to me that he never knew of that letter till he saw it in G.'s book; that he was not concerned in any such scheme; that he endeavoured, soon after the report was raised about the matter, to contradict it, and publickly disclaimed having had any hand in it by a speech which he made here in a town-meeting. And he supposes the whole matter originated in a mistake, because he was engaged in endeavouring to have General *Schuyler* removed from office; and that when it was said that Mr. A. wished, or attempted, *the General's* removal, it was misunderstood of General Washington.

If this account be true, it is a great pity that such a mistake should not be rectified. There is a great collection of matter, indeed, in Gordon's work; but there are many things which are below the dignity of history to

notice. Of what consequence is it that General Sullivan lived upon salted tongues and eggs in his Indian expedition? or that General Jo Warren was thought handsome by the ladies? But I will not attempt to point out blemishes. I only wish that Dr. Gordon had let his History be seen by some judicious friends, who were well acquainted with facts, before he left this country. I am persuaded that he might have profited by their advice; but he had too much of the self-sufficient principle in him.

I was last Tuesday on Mount Wallaston, in Braintree, where Morton erected his May-pole in 1628, and lived in a riotous manner with the Indians, which caused the Plimouth people to make prisoner of him, and send him to England. It is a delightful situation. I wished for your company. There is in the same town a ship of 800 tons building for the India trade, under the inspection of Major Shaw, who is lately returned from that quarter of the globe.* What adventurous fellows we Americans are?

Have you ever seen a 4to volume of "Political Annals of the Confederated Colonies of America," by George Chalmers, printed in London, 1780?

In a late letter which Mr. John Adams wrote to me, he says he has commenced an acquaintance with Mr. Morse, and thinks him "an interesting character."

In the Cincinnati oration at New York, in praise of Generals Greene and Montgomery, is there any trait of their characters which deserves my notice as a Biographer? I feel an avidity for every thing that can help forward such a work. I have almost done with Penn, and hope to finish him next week. Pray can you furnish me with any account of General Sir William Johnson? or direct me where to obtain it? Do you know whether

* Samuel Shaw, whose Life was written by Josiah Quincy. Boston, 1847.— Eds.

the result of the Congress at Albany in 1754 was ever published? or where can a copy of it be had?

I send you, for your amusement (when your [head] aches again), some extracts which I have made from the Diary of I. M. I took all that was worthy of notice. There were many family matters and mental exercises intermixed, which I thought might as well have been omitted. It was the most crabbed handwriting that ever I had to decipher, and some of it I could not find out, which may account for some blanks. You will please to return it as soon as is convenient for you.*

Mrs. B. joins in cordial love to you and Mrs. Hazard with, dear sir,

Your affectionate friend, JERE. BELKNAP.

We hear that Mrs. Buckminster is much better, and rejoice in it. My Sally is there yet.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

NEW YORK, July 28, 1789.

MY DEAR SIR, — Having got over the hurry the President's enquiries occasioned, my head is relieved; but the time required to furnish my replies has taken so much from other business that *that* has got behind, which occasions new hurry; and I believe I shall always be hurried. I have given my new masters an hint that it is time to think of me; and they have appointed a committee, so that I shall probably hear from them ere long, and know whether I am still to be a slave, or to be allowed more liberty.

Why, what an outrageous writer has attacked Dr. G.'s subscriber! Your writers have accustomed themselves

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* See Proceedings Mass. Hist. Soc., for March, 1858, p. 317. — EDS.

so much to illiberality that they can hardly write decently. What do you think of the threat of *criticizing the subscriber's style?* That was really laughable. I will communicate to Dr. G. what you inform me of Mr. A. If any thing has been misrepresented, I am confident it has been unintentionally, and will be cheerfully corrected. The Doctor has been too minute in many parts of his History. In some places, it was necessary, as in "Col. Laurens, *son-in-law to General McDougall.*" It is your idea, and I find it a prevailing one, that the History was *written* before the Doctor left America. Was this the fact? I never knew it.

I have not seen Chalmers's Annals.

The New York Cincinnati Oration has not been published, and I did not hear it delivered (for I hate the nonsense), so that I cannot tell what it contained; but suppose there was nothing more than puffing off the military exploits of Greene and Montgomery, in general terms. I must take a second heat at your letter, for the post will leave me. All well, and send love.

Good-bye. EBEN. HAZARD.

I. M. is safe.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

NEW YORK, Aug. 8, 1789.

MY DEAR SIR, — I cannot furnish you with any account of Sir William Johnston, nor inform you where to get it. He was, however, a great friend of the Society for Propagating the Gospel, and, I *believe*, their agent. I have among my papers a large number of original letters which passed between him and the missionaries. It appears to me that the result of the Congress at Albany in 1754 was published, and yet I am not sure of it. Upon reflection, I doubt whether there was a Congress (*modernly* speak-

ing) at all. The newspapers of that day and journals of Assembly mention a treaty with the 6 Nations at Albany in June, 1754, and I believe there was nothing more; except that, at that time, the idea of something like a general government popped into Dr. Franklin's head. Since I began the last sentence, I have seen a neighbour, who says there was more intended than a treaty with the Indians. There was an intention of some kind of union of the Colonies, but he believed the result was never published, though he had seen extracts from it.*

I. M. has afforded me amusement. He was a genius. I don't wonder he complains that his prayers were not heard when, "Lord, pour out a vial on the House of Austria," formed a part of them. I thank you for the extracts, and now return them.

I have received the Pennsylvania papers and Franklin's Review. Mr. Tappen said nothing to me about a bundle; but, when it comes to hand, I will take care of it. Perhaps Mr. Wingate can tell me something about it. I find, from your letter to Rush, that he has the same ideas of the Bible as a school-book with myself, and which I have frequently attempted to propagate; but I go farther than merely excluding it from schools. My plan is to tell children stories out of it, adapted to their capacities, and let them know they are in the Bible, and thus excite a *desire* to read it. Having excited the desire, I would *refuse to gratify it*, except by way of *reward*, and would thus take advantage of the *spirit of contradiction* which is in human nature to strengthen the *desire*.

My new masters are silent as to their servant yet. The President wanted an account of the income and expences of the department for every year since I have been at the head of it, stated so that he could see the amount of either,

* For an account of what was done at this Congress, and the part taken in it by Dr. Franklin, see his autobiography under the year 1754. — Eds.

for each year, at a single glance. Then he wanted the produce and expences for two particular years *in detail; i.e.*, the produce, &c., of each office for that time. Then he wished to know what I had done with the profits. To all which, I believe, I gave him satisfactory answers, though, as you may suppose, they are rather too lengthy for me to repeat here. I have not heard from him since, and *expect* the honour of his nomination. I have nothing to do with the French packets *yet*. Maybe the new government may change the system.

When I communicate what you wrote about S. A., I shall desire Dr. G. not to use your name at all. *Apropos*, the Doctor says in his History: "The regulars retreat [at Breed's Hill] in disorder, and with great precipitation, to the place of landing; and some seek refuge even in their boats. The officers are seen by the spectators on the opposite shore, running down to them, using the most passionate gestures, and pushing them forward with their swords." He writes me: "This, I am told, some of the officers deny: they are for *saving the British honour*. I have no doubt of the truth of the whole. The Rev. Mr. Thatcher, now of Boston, was, I think, one of the spectators. Pray write to him, and get him, if you can, and others with him, to attest the veracity of the historian in every part of the paragraph." As I am not acquainted with Mr. Thatcher, I must beg you to do this business for me, or consign it to your brother Morse. From real friendship to the Doctor, I wish to support his veracity; and, if the facts were as he has stated them, *justice* requires that it should be done; and I think the British name *ought* to lie under the stigma of such conduct.

13th.

So far I had written, when I was obliged to stop, and have not been able to proceed since.

Nothing done about P. O. yet, but the Committee and I

are to have a conference at my house this afternoon. Mrs. H. joins me in love to Mrs. B. All well.

I am, dear sir, yours,

EBEN. HAZARD.

I enclose Spotswood's receipt.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

BOSTON, August 10, 1789.

MY DEAR SIR, — I have not yet heard of the payment of Spotswood. Is it not proper that I should have his receipt, and you Pease's? This day a Mr. Pintard * called to see me. He says he is an acquaintance of yours, and wants to form a Society of Antiquaries, &c., &c. He seems to have a literary taste, is very loquacious and unreserved. Do give me his character.

Penn is at last completed. This biographical article is about four times as long as I expected when I first set about it. I wish you would contrive, by some of your friends in Philadelphia, to get the opinion of persons of judgment there concerning it, and particularly Dr. Franklin, who has thoroughly investigated P.'s character heretofore. Your own, also, I wish to have, and any other person's which you may think worth communicating.

Tuesday morning, August 11.

I close this letter this morning, being engaged to spend the day in a neighbouring town. I am, dear sir,

Your affectionate friend,

JERE. BELKNAP.

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* John Pintard. Some of his letters are preserved among Dr. Belknap's miscellaneous correspondence. He became a Corresponding Member of this Society, and the founder of the New York Historical Society. He died June 21, 1844, in his eighty-sixth year. — See Semi-Century New York Historical Society, pp. 45–48. — EDS.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

Boston, 19 August, 1789.

My dear Sir, — Your favor of the 8th to 13th came to hand last evening, inclosing one from Spotswood, in which he has the following paragraph: —

"The biographical articles, or any other articles of yours, published in the Magazine during the time I had the printing or management, I considered entirely at your disposal, in any manner you might please. Besides, as you observe, I don't think the republication of them at the distant period you mention can injure the sale of the Magazine."

Thus you see, my friend, that I am free from any embarrassment from that quarter. I am doing what I can, occasionally, toward completing my biographical plan.

Within a week past, I have met with a gentleman who was well acquainted with Sir William Johnson, and resided some months at his house. He has given me some account of the early part of his life, and the manner of his acquiring and preserving an influence over the Indians. I should be much gratified by a perusal of the letters which you speak of. There are several other characters in the State concerning which I wish to enquire; viz., Peter Stuyvesant, Cadwallader Colden, one or more of the De Lanceys and Schuylers, particularly him whom the Indians called Quider. Mr. Pintard has promised to make enquiries for me concerning the first of these, a descendant from whom he is acquainted with. He left this town a day or two past, on his return to New York. He seems to have a frankness and eagerness *about* him, or rather *in* him, which render him agreeable. However, I wait to hear your character of him before I determine in favour of him, which, indeed, I am rather inclined to do than otherwise.

Now for Gordon. I hear a great deal said about him, *pro* and *con*. I believe he meant to give a true account, and I doubt not he has delivered out things as they came to his ears. I have heard it observed of him that the first report which he heard he would set down as true; and, if anybody doubted his information, or had the same story to tell different from the manner in which he related it, he would say, "Sir, I have it from the best authority."

As to the battle of Charlestown, I remember to have heard, in the time of it, that the British officers pricked up the men with their swords after the first and second repulse, and I never heard it called in question. I will, however, enquire of the gentleman you mention, and of another, whose station was more favourable; but this I know, that both those gentlemen have but a slight opinion of the author himself; how I shall succeed in getting *them* to authenticate any thing which *he* has said, I know not. I have lately been on the ground and surveyed it with my own eye, and I think it was a most hazardous and imprudent affair on both sides. Our people were extreamly rash in taking so advanced a post without securing a retreat; and the British were equally rash in attacking them only in front, when they could so easily have taken them in the rear. This is a general observation. There are several particular ones which occurred from a sight of the ground, which I could not have had without; and I think it essentially necessary to an historian that he should visit the spot where any such transaction passed, and minutely examine every circumstance. This I did in 1784, with respect to the battle of Pigwacket, where Capt. Lovewell was killed, and by means of it I conceived a more perfect idea of that affair than it was possible to collect from books.

By the way, my dear sir, I beg the favour of you to *lend* me the two letters which I wrote to you after my

return from my White Hill excursion, in July and August, 1784. I want them to refresh my memory, and enable me to give a better account of that region.

Having now finished *Penn*, I am looking over my New Hampshire MSS., and preparing to go on with my second volume, concerning which scarcely a week passes but I hear some enquiries. Adieu, for the present. I am going to attend an Academy meeting at Cambridge this day.

20th.

Yesterday I delivered Mr. Morse his newspaper, in my way to Cambridge. He has just got to housekeeping.

We had nothing of any great consequence at the Academy. The most material communication was a paper containing specimens of woolen cloths, coloured with the juice of a particular kind of *corn*, which has a purple kernel. This may be improved into a valuable dye. There is some hope now that another publication will be made by the Academy, and I suppose Thomas will be the printer. We had, also, a third copy of the inscription on Dighton Rock.

There is a *bird* added to the discoveries, which is said to bear some resemblance to the cassowary of the East Indies; and there are figures which resemble our Arabic numerals 18881. There is, also, a figure which seems to be compounded of two Roman capitals; thus, AA. What they will finally make of it, I know not. This communication was from Dr. Baylies, of Dighton, who lives in sight of the Rock.

Our friend Waters desires your acceptance of one of the Artillery Election Sermons; and Mr. Tappan has sent a letter here to be forwarded to you.

I think this good gentleman is in a very disagreeable predicament with regard to the controversy between him and Mr. Spring. Their sentiments respecting *the depravity* are too nearly alike, and he seems rather dissatis-

fied with his own opinion. I think he will either change his ground, or drop the contest. I am, dear sir,

Your very sincere friend, JERE. BELKNAP.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

BOSTON, August 25, 1789.

MY DEAR SIR, — Forgive my inadvertence in not sooner sending you the inclosed receipt. It ought to have gone immediately on my receiving Spotswood's, but I forgot it.

I have had a conversation with the gentleman whom I mentioned to you as having had a better view of the Charlestown battle in 1775 than Mr. T., who was on Malden side of Penny Ferry; but this gentleman was on a hill in Chelsea, and had a good perspective glass. Just as I expected, his ill opinion of G. as an historian makes him decline lending his name to support any thing that he has said, though I have no doubt *that part of the story* is rightly told; yet some other parts of it, and of the Lexington affair too, he says, are misrepresented. What G. has said about General Washington has offended many people, and this gentleman in particular; and, from this and other circumstances, I believe it will be no easy matter for G. to find any persons of character and consequence who will stand forth as his vouchers. He was not much beloved nor regarded while he was here, and the stories he has told of one and another in his book have helped to sink him in the general estimation, though now and then I find some who are rather inclined to speak favourably of him. I have not as yet had any conversation with T. since I received your letter; but I know what his opinion is of G. and his book. I know not how you will be able to communicate these ideas to him, but I must relate matters *to you* just as I find them, or I should not be faithful.

When will it suit you to make another such payment to Spotswood? or will it do for me to send *you* our bank-bills? Adieu.

Yours affectionately, JERE. BELKNAP.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

NEW YORK, 27 August, 1789.

MY DEAR SIR, — I am glad that Spotswood has been so explicit, as it will remove every embarrassment. You have gone on very cleverly in your biographical plan so far, and I wish you to be able to compleat it. In order to assist you, I have been hunting through several chests of papers for the letters to and from Sir William Johnston, but cannot find them yet: shall look again soon. If you have Smith's History of New York, I think it probable you will find some hints in it about some of the characters you mention. I have no acquaintance with the history of any of them.

Mr. P[intar]d is a lively, chearful man, who appears to me not to want understanding as much as he does solidity. I can hardly form a determinate character of him in my own mind, and yet in some respects I am disposed to think favourably of him too. I think him a singular mixture of heterogeneous particles.

If our friend Gordon did as you have heard, he did not take the most effectual way to become possessed of facts; but I am mistaken if I did not see very different accounts of the same transactions, received from different people, in his collection of materials. I know that his intention was to state facts truly. Dr. Ramsay, who is now in this city (whose History of the Revolution is in the press at Philadelphia), told me the other day that Gordon's History contains a very valuable collection of authentic materials; and, had he met with it sooner, it

would have saved him a vast deal of trouble. I was looking for your two letters, but one of the tribe of Levi has called on me, and interrupted me. I have left him with ma'am till I finish this letter. I am glad you are going on with your second volume of New Hampshire. Please to present my compliments to Colonel Waters, and thank him for the sermon.

I have found out who Mr. Tappan's pamphlets were for. Had that good gentleman attended to Solomon's advice, "Leave off contention before it be meddled with," (is not this a bull?) perhaps he would have done better.

Love to Mrs. B. Adieu. EBEN. HAZARD.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

BOSTON, 3d September, 1789.

MY DEAR SIR, — I have conversed with Mr. Thacher since I wrote to you, and he assures me of the fact which he observed with his own eyes; viz., that the British troops retreated *to their boats*, and that the officers were busily engaged in getting them to march up. They had two repulses. He was on the Malden side of Penny Ferry, near the *house* marked in G.'s plan, above the floating batteries. The enemy landed on Morton's Point, and some of the boats came round the Point to a bite or cove which you may see in the plan, so as to be in view of the place where he stood; and these were the boats to which he saw some of them retreat.

Other boats remained on the side of the Point next to Boston. These were out of his view. He seems rather more candidly disposed than the other gentleman whom I spake of in my last. The fact of their double repulse is so well known here that no person pretends to doubt it; but the circumstances of the wind *shifting* that day, and car-

rying the smoke *another* course, is said to be not true. It was S.W. the whole day, and cinders of the fire were carried over to Chelsea. The smoke, in fact, incommoded the enemy, but not the entrenchment.

Pintard has written me a letter, and sent me some books. I must correspond with him. He appears very friendly, and I hope I shall not be disappointed in him.

Brother Morse is gone to New Haven Commencement. His wife was well yesterday. This day five French men-of-war have arrived. Our Supreme Court are busy in trying criminals, of which there is a great number *unhanged.*

Adieu. Love to Mrs. Hazard. When you find Sir W. J.'s letters, and mine about the White Hills, you will be so good as to send them. I am

Your sincere friend, JERE. BELKNAP.

P. S. I have just seen a letter from a gentleman in Connecticut, who says the salary of the door-keeper of Congress is equal to that of the Chief Justice of Connecticut. Great complaint of high salaries!

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

NEW YORK, September 5, 1789.

MY DEAR SIR, — I now lend you your letter of August 16, 1784, which is all I can find upon the subject of the White Mountains; and yet there certainly was another, for I recollect a *draught* of part of the country; but I do not know where to find it, for I have not had time to sort my papers since I have been in this city;* nor can I find Sir William Johnson's Correspondence, though I have

* By Hazard's letter of October 29 it will be seen that he had found the second letter, and also the map. This last has been heliotyped for this volume. See note on p. 168. — EDS.

searched for it again. Indeed, I do not remember to have seen this since the peace; which, with my not being able to find it now, makes me fear it was lost *flagrante bello*.

Mr. Pintard has mentioned to me his thoughts about an American Antiquarian Society. The idea pleases me much. We shall have the plan upon paper one of these days, and you will doubtless be made acquainted with it. Mr. P. has lately purchased a very large collection of pamphlets (in vols.) relating to the American Revolution. It was made by Dr. Chandler, of Elizabeth Town, who was in England all the war. It is valuable, as is Mr. P.'s library.

Congress have fixed on the eastern bank of the Susquehanna for the seat of their permanent residence. The southern members brought on the business, and the rest wished to postpone it; but this was not allowed. When they found they were like to be outvoted, and should not be able to carry Congress to the *Potowmack*, the Southern gentlemen wished to postpone the business; but the tables were turned upon them, and the others insisted upon finishing it now, which was done. Congress are to remain here till the Federal City is prepared for their reception.

Mrs. Breese, Miss Breese, and her two brothers, are here. The three last are going to Commencement at New Haven. The two young gentlemen will return from thence, but Miss Breese will go on to Charlestown, with Mr. Morse, who is expected to meet them at New Haven. She will probably spend the winter with her sister; and I think you will find her sensible and prudent.

Mrs. Hazard and family are well. Love to Mrs. Belknap from

Your friend, EBEN. HAZARD.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

Boston, 19 September, 1789.

My dear Sir, — Our papers of this date will give you an account of something in France similar to what has been done in America. I am sorry they massacred the officers of the Bastile. Had they confined them, and let them have opportunity to make their defence, it would have been more congenial to the spirit of liberty; but it was the effect of *furor brevis*, to which all men are subject.

Inclosed you have a paper copied by Mr. Thacher from an account he wrote of the Charlestown battle, while it was young and fresh, and which he is willing Dr. Gordon should have. He says, upon farther recollection, that he is not certain *that boats came round Morton's Point;* but he is sure they were driven down to the edge of the water by our people's fire, and driven up again by their own officers.

I am willing to be the instrument of conveying any information or correction to Dr. G., but do not desire *to be known or spoken of as such.*

I send you, also, Dr. Marant's sermon at the Negro Lodge. I did not hear it, but those who did say it is much improved since the delivery. This I can easily believe from what I observed myself when I heard him preach. He is American born, but went to England, and was nurtured in the Countess of Huntingdon's *hot-bed* for Methodists, in Wales. The negroes here are proud of having a preacher of their own colour. The writing on the outside leaf of the sermon is, I suppose, his own. Let his honour the Judge have the reading of it, if you please; and, after you have both read and laughed at it, return it.

When Levi Pease's next quarter is due, if you will give him an order on me for 50 dollars, I will pay it, and should be glad you would order Bryson to pay Spotswood the same sum. I expect to go to Portsmouth and Dover on Monday. I have not seen either of those places for almost three years. I have been looking over and arranging my MSS., which have lain in chaos since my removal, and am now bent on pursuing the New Hampshire History. I thank you for sending me *one* of my White Hill letters. There is yet another which I wish to have; and there are among your pamphlets some which will be of service to me: viz., Ethan Allen's Account of New York Proceedings respecting Vermont; Do. Vindication of Vermont's Opposition to New York; Vermont's Appeal to the Impartial World; Concise Refutation of the Claims of New Hampshire and Massachusetts to Vermont.

Sunday, 20th.

Last evening I sent to the post-office, and had a message from Mr. Hastings, to this purport: that Mr. Hazard desired me to excuse his not writing to me, on account of his *peculiar situation.* I can form but two conjectures concerning this peculiarity; viz., *sickness* and *business.* The former I hope it is not. The latter is extreemly probable. In either case, you are entirely excusable. Mrs. B. made a visit to Mrs. Morse last week, and carried one of the sisterhood (Brother Clarke's wife) with her. Mrs. Morse is much approved, and has made herself very agreeable, both in Charlestown and Boston.

I am, my dear sir, your sincere friend,

Jere. Belknap.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

DOVER, August 16, 1784.*

MY DEAR SIR, — To proceed methodically, I must discharge myself of arrears, or, in the sea phrase, make up lee way, before I give you an account of my late tour. I am four letters in debt. Yours of the 5th of July requested me, if I had any more subscription money, to forward it. This I had not, having sent it last fall. There was scarce any advanced in Boston or its environs; but Mr. Russell, who subscribed for 100, had offered to advance, if desired. As I received this letter of yours about three or four hours before my setting out on my journey, and there happening to be a person then at my house bound to Boston, I wrote to Mr. Russell on the subject, and since my return have received an answer from him that he had supplied Mr. Aitken with a quantity of pasteboards and scabboards; and that, from a letter he had received from him, he expected to get 600 of the books out in 10 days, from which he concluded that Mr. A. did not need any farther assistance. I am very sorry it is not in my power to do any better, but really it is not.

By yours of the 10th I find you have some knowledge of *Paddy* the Socinian, though he has none of you.† I think I never met with a person who was really a man of

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* This letter and that immediately following it, containing Dr. Belknap's familiar account of his tour to the White Mountains, have been discovered in a miscellaneous collection of Dr. Belknap's letters, since the printing of those on pp. 380 and 381 of Vol. I. (at which place they properly belong), and also since the printing of Dr. Belknap's Journal of his Tour to the Mountains, on pp. 386–401 of that volume. Dr. Belknap, as appears by this correspondence, several years after these two letters were written, and while he was preparing his third volume of the "History of New Hampshire" for the press, had requested Mr. Hazard to return them to him. Therefore they were not found among Dr. Belknap's letters which were returned at a later day by Mr. Hazard's family, but were preserved in another collection, and were overlooked when copying the others for the press. Although that part of these letters containing the account of his tour to the White Mountains is *substantially* the same as the Journal, we do not feel at liberty to omit it. — EDS.

† See Vol. I. p. 370. — EDS.

sense, and a scholar, whose company was so disgusting to me. I heard him preach once, and he performed very well. His subject did not lead him to express his peculiar sentiments. It was a vindication of the ways of Providence, in suffering the wicked to prosper and the righteous to be afflicted in this world. I hear he has since preached in one of the politest *vacant* assemblies, and been much admired; but his company is as perfect a contrast to their *late* minister's as can be.

In the same letter, you take occasion, from what I said when at Boston, to express very kindly a strong expectation of seeing me at Philadelphia. 'Tis true I did indulge the pleasing thought; but, within these few days since my return, my mother has been taken ill, and her disorder threatens to be lingering and distressing. I must not therefore think of being absent while such a material revolution in the family as will be occasioned by her sickness, and (if it should please God so to order) death, is expected.

I have received all the sheets now, and find no material error in the appendix. I wrote you from Portsmouth, last week, how many copies to send to Boston and Portsmouth; and I hope, before this arrives, they will be shipped.

Gov. Belcher's Letter-Books, you know, were sold at Russell's vendue for waste paper. Some of them fell into hands unconscious of their worth, and were torn up. Four volumes were recovered by Mr. Russell for my use, but they are only *borrowed* of the owners, and must be returned when I have done using them, or when called for. When I have them in hand again, I may find something for your amusement; and, if I have time, will transcribe it.*

Your last of the 26th is chiefly in answer to one of

* The Massachusetts Historical Society have the Letter-Books of Governor Belcher, in eight volumes, containing his correspondence from 1731 to 1754. — Eds.

mine. But I am much afflicted with the fears you express of losing your child. 'Tis an event which, through Heaven's mercy, never yet happened in my family; but I have several times come so near it as to feel the distress in a very high degree; yet it was always mixed with such "strong consolation" concerning the future state of dying infants, and the mercy of the Supreme Disposer, as I believe would have induced a patient resignation to the divine will, and an increase of love to the divine character and ways. Should you be called to "give up your comfort to the Lord," may he grant you the *superior blessing* of an assurance that "the promise is to your children as well as to you," and that *this promise* is not merely, according to some expositors, a covenant of outward privileges, but a promise of eternal salvation, — such a promise as is worthy of a God to give.

How does your gout? I find it has not the same effect on your nervous system as a *cousin-german complaint* has repeatedly had on mine; otherwise, you could neither have composed letters, nor have held your pen to write them. I recommended to you, in my last, a beefstake poultice, which I learnt from *Mother* Wesley's primitive Physic, and have found benefit by. It seems to sooth and soften the dry skin, and helps perspiration in the swelled part; but I hope by this time you have laid aside your wooden legs, and are restored to health and business.

As it is now highly improbable that I shall visit Philadelphia this season, you need not defer completing my son's indentures with Mr. Aitken.

[*Tour to the White Mountains.*]

Now for the *White Mountains*. I cannot at present give you a complete account of the observations made by Mr. Cutler, who was our mathematician, because I have not received the calculations from him, and he had not

time to finish them during the journey; but I can give you, from my journal, an account of what I observed and met with in the course of our expedition.

We had a very agreeable company: Mr. Little of Wells, Mr. Cutler of Ipswich, Dr. Fisher of Beverly, all naturalists; two young gentlemen from college; several pilots, axmen, and attendants; and at Conway we met Mr. Jo. Whipple, who had previously engaged to join us. Our number consisted of *eleven*. Conway is the last settlement on this side the mountains, distant about 18 miles, the greater part of the way through an old road; *i.e.*, one that was cut 10 years ago, and has been disused for several years; and 'tis now grown up with bushes as high as a man's head on horseback, full of wind-fallen trees, deep mires, and broken bridges; and in one place a tornado had so torn up the trees that we laboured with excessive difficulty to get through with our horses. It was on Friday morning, the 23d of July, that we set off from Conway, and took our leave of *house and bed* for 3 days, to make a genuine tour in the wilderness. The *snow* had been gone from off the *south* side of the Mountain but ten days; and yet at Conway we had full-grown *cucumbers*. This may sound like a traveller's story, but you may depend on the truth of it. But why, you will say, does the snow lie so long on the south side? I answer, it is a fact, and I have frequently observed it, that the snow lies longer on the south side of hills than on the north. The N.W. wind drives the snow over the tops of the hills, and it lodges in the hollows, where it grows firm and hard, and is deeper than elsewhere. On these stupendous mountains there are long winding gullies, from 100 to 1,000 feet deep, which contain a vast quantity of these drifted snows, accumulating during the long winter, which begins there generally in September or October, and it must take a long time to dissolve them. Our pilot who was commander of a party, who worked on the road

through which we travelled, in 1774, told me that on the 6th of June, that year, some of his party ascended the Mountain, and found the snow 13 feet deep on the south side, and so hard as to bear them; and that a fortnight after he went up himself, and there remained 5 feet of the snow in the same place. You must allow me to remark here, if so vast a quantity of snow lodges and remains on these Mountains, how many more mountains toward the N.W. are there whose frozen summits serve to give that keenness to the air which comes from that quarter! 'Tis not the *Lakes* that make the N.W. winds so piercing, but the hoary summits of the infinite ranges of mountains, some of which, perhaps, at the remotest regions of the N.W., may retain the snows undissolved through the whole year.

Our pilot judged it best for us to go up by a branch of Saco River to the *height of land* between that and Amariscogin waters; then we could ascend the Mountain by *a ridge which is one continued ascent* to the top. Had we attempted it in any other part, we *must have ascended and descended several mountains before we could have reached the summit.* Accordingly, he conducted us along the eastern side of the Mountains, till we reached a *meadow* on the height of land between two mountains. This meadow is about $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile in length. Several springs run into it from the mountain on the east side, and form channels, in which the water *seems almost stagnant*, as if at a loss which way to proceed. At each end of the meadow is a beaver damm. Through one the water runs S. into Saco, and through the other N. into Amariscogin. This *meadow served to give feed to our horses*, and by the side of it we constructed our tent. It was built of poles and bark. Three upright forked stakes supported an horizontal pole, from which four or five others were laid sloping to the ground, like one side of a roof. On these were laid spruce bark, peeled from the trees. The same

sort of bark made a floor, which was covered with hemlock twigs. This was our bed: our saddles and bags served for pillows; we had each a blanket, and before the tent we had a long, large fire. I should have told you that, before we arrived at this spot, we came by what is called the *New River*. This is a noble cascade, upwards of 100 feet high in view at once; but it comes from much higher. It is a torrent of water which broke out in October, 1775, after or during a long and heavy rain. It bore down rocks and trees, and piled them up, in some places on its sides, and in others across, so as to run under them. It caused a vast flood in the river Saco, which ran muddy for several weeks. The cascade is winding, in some places narrowed to two feet, in others forming a wide sheet, and on some level rocks a spreading bason. It comes out of the mountains in three springs, which, after running separately down a great way, unite in one beautiful cascade, and fall into Ellis River, a branch of Saco.

The instruments we carried were 2 barometers, 2 thermometers, 1 sextant, 1 telescope, 1 chain, and 2 surveying compasses. On examining them, one of the barometers was broke, and the mercury gone; one of the thermometers rendered useless by air-bubbles having got into the ball and the mercury fixed in the tube. Our intention was to have placed one of each at the foot of the Mountain, and carried the others up; but this design was rendered abortive. However, the remaining instruments were carried up.

Saturday, July 24, at $6\frac{1}{4}$ A.M., we began our ascent. At the first steep precipice, Dr. F. complained of a pain in his side, and returned to the tent, where Whipple's negro man waited to take care of the horses and baggage. We then ascended by the side of a large stream on our left, making frequent pauses, an account being kept of the continuance of each. Being the heaviest person in the

company, you may depend on it that I was not the nimblest, and the pauses were the more frequent on my account. Having travelled in this manner till 8 h. 20 m., and ascended several very steep and craggy precipices, I found my breath fail, and needed so many pauses that I considered whether it were best for me to proceed any farther. The summit, though in sight, appeared much higher than the distance we had come. The ascent higher up was steeper; the more frequent pauses on my account would retard the company, so that we should not get up in any tolerable season. The clouds were covering the mountain above us. My exercise had so heated me already, that I was persuaded if I got to the top I should be fit for nothing but to lie down and sleep. We held a council; and all the company, having first borne their testimony that I had done the best I could, advised me to return. Two offered to accompany me; but, not willing to deprive any of them of the enjoyment they had taken so much pains already for, I consented to come down alone, comforting myself with that old adage, *In magnis vŏluisse sat est.* Keeping the stream on my right in my descent, I had the pleasure of seeing what none of the rest did. I came to *one precipice*, over which I looked, and found it *completely perpendicular.* I went to one side, and, by stepping on some loose rocks, got down to the face of it, which was about *five feet high, and twelve or fifteen long*, composed of square-faced stones, laid as fair and regular as a piece of masonry, the water trickling out from between them. The side of the Mountain, as far as I ascended, is composed of a mass of loose rocks, covered with a deep green moss, in some places as thick as a *bed.* The moss covers the rocks and their interstices, so that in many places you walk on it and it bends under you, and yet supports your weight; but in other places it proves treacherous, and lets you through, to the danger of your shins, which happened to one, and but one, of our com-

pany. This moss on the steep sides of the Mountain serves as a sponge to retain the vapors which are continually brought by the winds in the form of clouds against these Mountains, and there deposited; it also preserves the rain-water from running off at once, and keeps the springs supplied with a perpetual dripping. The growth on the Mountain is spruce and fir, chiefly the former.

By 10 o'clock I had got on the level ground, and my voice was answered from the tent, where I arrived safe, though much fatigued; and, having taken some refreshment, slept for two or three hours. In the afternoon, Dr. F. and I visited the beaver damm in the meadow. It was old and firm, and overgrown with alders; we could see no trace of their cabbin.

Toward night, signs of rain. We put some new bark on our tent, got the baggage within it, provided fewel for the night, and anxiously expected the return of our friends; but it was their lot to pass the night on the Mountain, round a fire, which they kindled with difficulty. It rained all night. Our fire decayed, and our tent, notwithstanding all our precaution, leaked; but by constant attention we kept our fire alive, and ourselves tolerably dry. Soon after daybreak, Sunday, July 25, we heard the report of a gun, which we answered; then voices, which we likewise answered; and by six o'clock our friends arrived safe, and not so wet as I expected to find them.

Their account of what passed after I left them is as follows: The ascent became much more steep and difficult, and they were till 6 m. after 1 o'clock getting to the top of the highest pinnacle. The growth grew shorter, till it diminished to shrubs, then bushes, then low vines with blue and red berries, then winter-grass and gray moss, and lastly naked rock. The top of the Mountain is called *The Plain*. It is composed of stones covered with gray moss, which is spread over the stones and their

interstices so as to resemble the surface of a dry pasture or common. When the moss is broken, you see gravel at the bottom between the stones, and in some places springs of water. The area of this plain is an irregular figure, supposed about a mile from its eastern edge, [from] which they ascended to the pinnacle, or sugar loaf. The western side they could not see the extent of, by reason of a cloud, which covered the Mountain almost the whole time of their being on it; but the plain is said to extend farther on that side. The pinnacle is composed of loose, dark gray rocks, with specks of yellowish moss, not so difficult of ascent as the precipice below the plains. 'Tis judged *more than* 100 *feet perpendicular* height. *On the topmost rock of this pinnacle they engraved N. H.*, and left a plate of lead with their names and the date under a stone. Their exercise had so heated them, that when Mr. Cutler took the thermometer out of his bosom it stood at *fever heat;* but, before they had done engraving the letters N. H., they *shivered and their teeth chattered*, and Mr. Little was forced *to give up the chizzel to Mr. Whipple, who finished the H.* They had fair weather but about three minutes, when they discerned the ocean on the E., and the settlements on Connecticut River N.W., at the Upper Cohoss. *The clouds rolled above, below, and in every direction around them;* and, being thus involved as they were descending from the plain, they were got into one of those long, deep gullies, not being able to see to the bottom, and were descending by fixing their *heels* in the prominent points of the rock, when their pilot slipped, and was gone out of sight, though happily without any other damage than tearing his breeches and loosing his buckle. They then had to reascend, and come down another way. When they turned their eyes upward, they were *astonished at the height and steepness of the place* they had come down, and found it impossible to return. The same prominences which bore them by the heels

were not deep enough to fix their *toes* so as to bear their weight. In this awful dilemma, one of them espied a cross gully, which had a more gradual ascent; and in this they got up to the plain, and then came down on the E. side, where they went up at first. *The valley was on the S.E. side.* At their re-entrance into the bushes, they met the pilot. It rained and grew late when they entered the wood. At 8 h., evening, they got a fire, and by the side of it stood or lay during the night, parboiled and smoke-dried.

The next morning, *i.e.* Sunday, 25, after breakfast, we set off for Mr. Whipple's plantation, which was the nearest *human* habitation on the way we wished to go; and this was distant, as we were then led to understand, about 24 miles, and I believe was *really* not more than 26. But the way to it was to make one third, at least, of the circuit of the mountains, *as the road went;* and the road was worse than what we had travelled on Friday. The greatest expedition we could make was two miles in an hour, and in some parts not so much. We kept *one man before, with an ax, to cut away windfalls*, or limbs of windfalls, over many of which we leaped our horses, and under many crawled, and went round the tops or roots of many more, and over many broken or rotten bridges, and through many deep sloughs; and, to *aid* the difficulty, we met with an heavy shower, of two hours' continuance, which wet us every one to the skin, and after all were obliged, by the approach of night, to stop eight miles short of our object, and encamp on the wet ground under a bark tent hastily constructed by the side of a large fire made to windward of our tabernacle, so that, if we raised our heads a foot from the ground, we were suffocated. *Our horses were turned loose into the woods, to brouze the bushes;* and it rained all night.

In these circumstances, I could not help calling to mind the situation of poor Uncle Toby and Corporal Trim, at

the seige of Limerick, when the *radical moisture* prevailed over the *radical heat*, and they supplied the latter by burnt brandy. We had a tolerable share of refreshments with us, and such utensils as supplied the place of better; and, by the aid of *chocolate*, which I think was the best viand, I preserved such a share of warmth as kept me *alive*, I will not say *in spirits*.

Monday, July 26. By 10 o'clock we had got through these dismal *roads*, and arrived at Mr. Whipple's plantation, on the N.W. side of the Mountains, but not without being again thoroughly "wet with the showers of the mountains." However, a dry house, a good fire (ay, a *good fire* in the middle of July), and a change of linen, which I had preserved dry in my saddle-bags, was a grand refreshment. It is surprizing that none of us got any cold by these manœuvres. One of our company was a delicate, hyp'd gentleman, who, when at home, cannot go into his garden till the dew is off, and was projecting a *shower-bath* before he came from home, for the benefit of his nerves. This thorough soaking proved beneficial to him, and he was amazed at himself when he found he got through it alive. We did not forget to rally him on his *shower-bath*.

I cannot help mentioning one more circumstance relating to this good gentleman. He told me that it was the common opinion among his friends that he was hyp'd, but there was nothing in it. He had every symptom of a pulmonic consumption; but there was one thing which he could not account for, and that was his *growing fat!* *

By this note you may judge that I am very far gone in the same way. How is it with you and Mrs. Hazard?

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* The same gentleman was alive and well, and pretty fat, in September, 1789.— *Belknap's Note.*

Sunday evening.

The foregoing has been written by piecemeal; and it is now called for to go to Portsmouth early in the morning. I have not time to finish it; so you must excuse the rest till another week. Our love to Mrs. Hazard and yourself.

Your friend, JERE. BELKNAP.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

DOVER, August 19, 1784.

MY DEAR SIR, — Since I sent off the first part of my account of my late tour, your favor of the 31st ult. arrived. I did as earnestly wish for your company as you wished to be of the party; and I often wish that the distance between us was not so great; but what signifies wishing, 'tis the most ineffectual work a man can do, and often an excuse for the omission of work and neglect of duty?

Our friend Aitken, according to your account, is a man of true ambition. If he has printed the sheet over again to remedy the want of a few words, he certainly deserves praise; and, as far as my ability extends, he shall have it. I suppose *Clarke* has told that some people censure me for having the book printed so far from home. I have heard much said about it, and I believe some brethren of the type *in Boston* are offended at it. I applied to some of them before you made me the offer which determined my choice; but I could get either no answer at all, or such as shewed that they consulted only their own interest. But I won't spend words about them. They are, in general, a set of clumsy, selfish fellows.

I did not *think* of sending a copy to the Society, but am glad you did, and will write them a letter, and have some thoughts of reducing my observations made in the late tour to a memoir for their inspection; but that cannot be done yet. I must first give you the whole, just as it

rises in my mind, from an inspection of my journal, and *my* own recollection.

I hope your Society will not expose the spotted negroes to the view of any pregnant ladies, lest we should have a breed of children similar to Jacob's cattle.

I am sorry I made the correction averse *to* instead of *from:* it was done too suddenly. I acquiesce in what you say about titles, but I do not wish for any more. I rejoice that your son is better. Mrs. B. would be as much pleased to see Mrs. H. as Mrs. H. to see her; but I fear it will not happen very soon.

[*Continuation of White Mountain Tour.*]

In my last, I continued my account till our arrival at Mr. Whipple's plantation, in Dartmouth, on the N.W. side of the White Mountains, and within ten miles of Connecticut River, at the Upper Cohoss. We soon found ourselves in open ground, in the midst of a vast amphitheatre, surrounded on all sides but the N.W. by cloud-capt mountains. The view was grand. The vapours were rising in innumerable columns from the sides of the mountains, and converging toward their summits, forming into clouds, and then descending in showers, after a while re-ascending as before, and thus keeping up a constant circulation. *No one who has visited this mountainous country need be at any loss about the origin and formation of springs.* The clouds convey water in abundance to the Mountains, the vast beds of moss with which they are covered imbibe it and deposit it in the crevices of the rocks, from whence it descends to the hard stratum, commonly called *the pan*, and is guided downward till it finds vent in larger or smaller quantities. It was our design to have made a geometrical mensuration of the height of the Mountains from this place; but, during our whole stay here, we could not see the Mountains free of clouds

for more than half an hour. During this half-hour, I took a sketch of them. They appear in seven summits, four of which are a western range, and three an eastern. The latter are the most distant from this station, and I believe the highest. Four of the summits are bald. The others have a shrubby growth. The snow does not lie so long on the N.W. as on the south side. It had been gone from the N.W. side about four or five weeks. We found here great plenty of raspberries, which afforded us an agreeable refreshment.

Tuesday, July 27. Cloudy morning. Clear between 10 and 11, then cloudy, and P.M. a thunder-shower, after which we met the people of this place, who mustered to the number of 38, and heard a sermon from 1 Cor. 6. 19, 20, the first that ever was preached here. Eight of their children were baptized.

Great quantities of maple sugar are made here. Mr. W. has a set of vats to contain the sap, and a boiling-house. They commonly make enough for a year's store. *No oak grows here. Their wheels are made, the naves of elm, the spokes ash, and the rimms of maple.* The intervals are excellent, and the uplands very good. This plantation is situated on Israel River, which runs into Connecticut at the Upper Cohoss.

Two miles from hence is a pond, in which the moose bathe at this season, to rid themselves of the flies. They are sometimes shot in the water. Mr. W. has a pair of moose-horns which extend $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet, and weigh 34 lbs. They are not of the largest size. Our bill of fare this day was ham, tongues, dried beef, trouts, and a sauce composed of raspberries, cream, and maple sugar.

Wednesday, July 28. At 6 h., morning, we took our leave of this place, set out southward on our return, passed up Israel River, over part of a mountain called Pondicherry, crossed Amonoosuck River, which is a branch of Connecticut, and about $11\frac{1}{4}$ arrived at the *Western*

Notch, as it is called, — a narrow defile between the Mountains, which rise perpendicularly on the eastern side, and on the other sides *in an angle of* 45°, forming a bason, in which is an open meadow, a most *sublimely* picturesque and romantic scene! This is the only practicable passage through the White Mountains. It was known to the Indians, who formerly led their captives this way to Canada, it being their nearest path; but it had been unknown to the English settlers *till about* 1771. *Two hunters passed through it, and, from their report, the proprietors of lands in the upper parts of N.H. formed the plan of a road through it to the Upper Cohoss, from whence it is distant but* 25 *miles;* and by the way, my friend, as you are at the head of the post-office, it may not be amiss to remind you that, if ever there is to be a post-road from New Hampshire to Canada, this will be the shortest rout.

From Dover to this Notch is	84	miles.
From the Notch to Upper Cohoss	25	„
From thence to the 45th degree of lat. . . at the mouth of Leech's River.	30*	„
From thence to St. Francis River . . . . where Memphremagog empties into it.	44	„
	183	

I once sent you a copy of a survey, made in 1773, of the country between Connecticut and St. Francis R., for this very purpose. But to return.

The direction of the defile is N. and S. The narrowest part, between two perpendicular rocks, 22 feet, but grows wider as you descend toward the S. The meadow on this height of land *was once a beaver pond, and the damm yet remains.* It is the head of Saco River, from which a branch of Amonoosuck, on the other side, is distant not more than a mile, if so much. Along the eastern side of

* This distance I had from Mr. Whipple. I suspect it is too short. — *Belknap's Note.*

the *meadow*, under the perpendicular rock, is a causeway, built of large logs, on which they propose to lay rocks, so as to sink the logs into the mud, and form a durable road. On the same side of the *defile* there is a road built entirely of blown rocks. The western side is left for a water-course. Much labour has been done here, and lately the proceeds of a confiscated estate have been applied to this purpose, £400. Into this defile descend from the east two beautiful cascades, one of which is called *the Flume*, it being not more than two feet wide. These run under bridges, and wind away down the western side of the defile, augmenting the waters of Saco River. These beauties of Nature gave me inexpressible delight. The most *romantic imagination here finds itself surprized and stagnated! Every thing which it had formed an idea of as sublime and beautiful is here realized. Stupendous mountains, hanging rocks, chrystal streams, verdant woods, the cascade above, the torrent below, all conspire to amaze, to delight, to soothe, to enrapture; in short, to fill the mind with such ideas as every lover of Nature, and every devout worshipper of its Author, would wish to have.*

At the meadow, the weather being clear, Mr. Cutler took an observation to *determine the latitude*, which he could not do on the summit when he was there, by reason of the clouds.

It was with regret that I left this place and descended toward the south. As we came down, the Mountains continued on each side of us for eight or ten miles, Saco River running between them; and our road lay by the side of it, and sometimes across it and various branches of it. This stream is rapid, and full of falls. As it rises in the Mountains, the freshets are uncommonly sudden, and subside as suddenly, seldom continuing longer than the rain which causes them. On the sides of these mountains, at immense heights, and in places perfectly inaccessible, project rocks, some of a whitish and some of a reddish hue,

their sides polished by the continual trickling of water over them. These, when incrusted with ice, being open toward the S. and W., reflect the moon and starbeams in the night, and are sufficient to give rise to the fiction of *carbuncles*, which the Indians and their captives used to report, and which have swelled into marvellous and incredible stories among the vulgar. The Indians always supposed that the tops of these mountains were possessed by genii, or invisible beings, and therefore never ventured to ascend them. The same superstition is common among the people of the towns through which we passed. Our number was larger than any company who had travelled that way before, and our appearance formidable. We had three guns with us, and the barometers were hung over a man's shoulders, and the sextant was carried in a large bag. The good women were glad there were three *clergymen* in the company, because they hoped we should "lay the spirits" (this was their own expression). Our pilot, who was a man of humour, assured them, at our return, that we had done it. So, my good friend, you see I have arrived at the reputation of a *conjuror*. I have been asked, since I came home, whether I did not hear *terrible noises* among the mountains. O the power of nonsense, superstition, and folly! When will mankind make use of their senses and be wise!

On the side of one mountain was a *projection resembling a shelf, on which appeared four large square rocks, set up edgeways, like four huge folio volumes.* We passed under one huge rock, between which and the river was a passage not more than six feet wide. Down this rock, last summer, a moose fell, being started by two travellers, and got entangled among the bushes and trees, till one of the men, with a pocket-knife, cut his hamstrings, and afterward his throat. They had no other weapon with them.

At night, we got into the road which we left on Friday,

having encompassed the whole cluster of mountains which go by the name of White. In performing which circuit, we had travelled about *seventy miles*, sometimes right under them, at other times distant four, six, eight, or ten miles. Making full allowance for this, we judged the base of the White Mountains to occupy an *area not less than fifty miles in circumference.* In which area the number of summits must exceed ten; but it is impossible to tell the exact number, unless we should make an aerial voyage, in a balloon. Within this area several large rivers have their source; viz., two branches of Connecticut, two of Amariscogin, and almost the whole of Saco. The distance between the heads of these rivers, which pursue such very different courses, and fall into the sea so many hundred miles apart, is but small. *If the roads were clear on the back of the Mountains, you might in the same day drink of waters of Saco, Amariscogin, and Connecticut.* The sources of the two former and the two latter are as nearly contiguous as possible. These Mountains, then, are the grand reservoir of water for many parts of New England. Pemigewasset River, which runs into Merrimack, takes its rise from a mountain which is but a continuation of the same range to the S.W. The form of the base of these Mountains seems to be nearly that of an isosceles triangle, whose longest extremity is a little to the westward of south. The ranges of mountains decreasing in altitude extend both N.E. and S.W. to an unknown distance. Some of the company lodged this night at Conway. Mr. Little and I, with our pilot, stopped four miles short. Our host told us that he had made six hundred of sugar in one season, with the labor of only two *men.*

Thursday, July 29, I parted with most of the company, who were for returning by the way we came, while I had a mind to go down by Saco River, in company with Mr. Little. In the afternoon, I visited *Lovel's pond* within the township of Fryeburg, the memorable scene of a

bloody and desperate battle in 1725. The holes made by the bullets (which have since been cut out) are yet visible in the trees, and the names of the dead in the bark. This pond is about two miles long and one wide, and empties into Saco River.

The next day, Friday, we set out for home; came down on the S.W. side of Saco River; passed by a great fall, up which the salmon cannot rise because of a projecting rock; crossed the Great Ossapy River (not fordable) by swimming our horses after a canoe. Got to Massabesick at night.

Saturday P.M. arrived safe at home, having made about 20 miles in company with a man from Saco, going in pursuit of his wife, who had run away with a company of Shakers, taking with her a borrowed horse, and 25 dollars out of her husband's desk, in his absence. The poor man, if he cannot find her, must lose his *money*, and pay for the *horse*, which some men would be glad to do for the sake of getting rid of *such* a wife.

Since my return, Mr. Cutler has sent me the result of his calculations respecting the height of the Mountain,* which, in round numbers, he makes 9,000 feet above the level of the sea; the height of the summit from our tent, 5,500 feet; and the height of the tent above the sea, 3,500. These numbers, he thinks, cannot be far from the truth. By mensuration of an height after he left me, and comparing it with the pinnacle of the White Mountain, he thinks the height of it above the Plain must be as much as 300 feet, though at first he judged it short of 150. *The appearances in those mountainous regions are extremely deceptive, and it will take a person several days to get used to them, so as to know how to form any tolerable judgment of heights and distances.* Several instances of this occurred in our progress. While we were at *Eaton*,

* Prof. Bond estimates the height of Mount Washington, above the level of the sea, to be 6,500 feet. — EDS.

which is below Conway, we were on the side of a mountain; to the west of us was a smaller mountain, and beyond that one much higher, which seemed to rise but a little way from it; and yet between those two mountains *was the breadth of an whole township;* viz., *Burton.* Some of our company could scarcely believe it when it was told them. I remember another, when I was at Oxford, on Connecticut River, ten years ago. I was desired to give my opinion of the height of a precipice on the (then) New York side of the river, opposite to where I stood. I answered, 100 *feet, at most.* We then crossed the river, and I found, to my amazement, upon comparing the height of trees under the precipice with the precipice itself, and the growth upon it, that it *was more than double the height* I had supposed.

Mr. Cutler has unhappily mislaid or lost the notes which he took of the sun's altitude at the Notch, so that I cannot give you the latitude; but I am satisfied it must be *as much* as 44° 10′, *perhaps* 20′.

I have now, my dear sir, given you an account of what I *have* seen (*i.e.*, I and my company; for we were all very communicative, and what one knew we all knew. This was acting like sons of science, was it not?). To complete my narrative, however, I must tell you what I have *not* seen. This is necessary, because many stories have been told of these Mountains, and many visionary expectations have been formed from them.

To begin as high as possible, then, I saw no *silver mines,* though I have often heard of such (but never believed it), and though a month before I went some persons, attended by a certain German who pretends to be a great mineralogist, went to these Mountains, and pretended that they had discovered something of great value, which they made a profound secret of. It has been said that there is a mineral, which is supposed to be *lead,* but no person knows where to find it. We were in hopes of dis-

covering *limestone*, which would have been of more service to the country than silver or gold mines, and for this purpose carried a quantity of aqua-fortis; but, on applying it to those rocks or fragments of rocks which seemed most likely, no effervescence could be produced. We were told, and sometimes warned in very pointed terms, of the multitude of *rattlesnakes* which we should find there; but I saw not a serpent of any kind in the whole march, except a common striped snake, not 20 miles from home. I need not add that we saw no hobgoblins, demons, nor cacodemons, no wandering ghosts, nor the least appearance of *Hobamoke*, though I suppose Dr. Mather would have said we had invaded his territories, being "Prince of the Power of the *Air*." We saw no beasts of prey, nor no game, excepting two partridges and two pigeons, which we killed. Fish we caught a few in Ossapy Pond, baiting our hooks with whortleberries; but, had we had time, we might have got plenty of trout in almost all the rivers. We saw the track of one moose, and abundance of sable-traps, and one bear-trap, which were left by the hunters the last season.

If you think it proper to communicate any part of this narrative to your friends, I am not against it; but, as you have hinted something about a memoir to the Society, I will think of putting it into a form suited to the gravity of a philosophical body. I could wish, if it be not too much trouble, that you would read such parts of it as you may think fit in the hearing of my son, when you are well enough to visit Mr. Aitken; for I always endeavor to acquaint my children (as they are able) with matters of *curiosity*, and Jo has a large share of it.

Should you ask what is the cause of the *white* appearance of these Mountains, I would tell you in one word,— *snow*, which lies on them, commonly, from September or October till July. There is no white moss, nor white flint, nor white rocks, which can give any such reflection

A Rough Sketch of the Country
near the White Mountains
in New Hampshire
1784.
The Scale 2 miles to an inch

NB The meadow is at the height of Land
between Ellis River a branch of Saco
& Peabody River a branch of Amariscogon.

Area of the
White mountains

Amonoosuck River

Saco River

Ellis River

Peabody R

Meadow

Cutler River

New River

Copps

Conway

McMillan's

Kimball's pond

Part of Fryeburg

Province Line N 20° W by the true meridian

Cold River

Saco Pond

Kiya Sarge Mo

Rocky branch

East branch

Little Pigwacket R

Swift R

60 + miles from Dear & mouth of Pas Catagua River

as is caused by the *snow;* and, after the snow is gone, they appear, at the distance of 60 or 70 miles, of a pale blue, inclining to a sky colour; at the distance of 10 or 15 miles, they are of the gray colour of the rock, inclining to brown. From the account given in these letters of the White Mountains, you will be able to correct one which I think I formerly sent you a copy of, written by G. S. to Marbois, and you will see an essential difference between a first and second-hand description in point of *propriety*, — I mean not of rhetorical flourish.

Mr. Cutler says the degree of heat by the thermometer, on the summit of the Mountain, was equal to the mean degree with us in *March and November;* viz., 44.°

This is also different from S.'s description of winter-cold in summer, and the danger of *freezing* in this intolerable climate.

For your farther gratification, I have copied a plan which I took from one in Mr. Whipple's possession, shewing the course of the rivers and the situation of the part of the Mountains. His plan extended no farther N., so that the northern part of our circuit, and his plantation, are not comprehended in it. I have added the sketches of the appearance of the Mountains on the E. and the N.W., and marked their area as nearly as I could. The roads in which we travelled are marked with a pricked line.* By the way, if I should be able to obtain a pretty correct map of N. H., to be annexed to my 2d volume, could I get it engraved at Philadelphia?

Please to tell Josey that his grandmama is in a declining way. The rest of the family are well, and send their love to him.

Mrs. B. desires an affectionate salutation to you and Mrs. Hazard, as does your very much obliged friend and humble servant, JERE. BELKNAP.

* A *fac-simile* of this "plan" is inserted here. — EDS.

August 20.

I have begun my memoir to the Society, and hope to get it ready by next post. I will then also send a letter to introduce my book.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

New York, September 27, 1789.

My dear Sir, — I have long wanted to write to you, but have not been able. If the people of France are wise, they may have an excellent constitution of government; but I fear they are not sufficiently illuminated. If they are not careful, they will run into licentiousness.

Thank you for the paper from Mr. Thatcher. Your name shall not be mentioned. Dr. Marant's sermon shall have a reading. Can't you contrive to get one for me to add to my Farrago? It will be a curiosity with which I may make some diversion with the brethren. I have wrote to Mr. Bryson about the 50 dollars, but fear I shall not be able to help you. You mention your not having seen either Dover or Portsmouth for almost three years. What do you think of my not having been at so great a distance as ten miles from this city in that time? I will look for your other White Hill letter, and for an opportunity of sending the pamphlets. My *peculiar situation* can now be explained to you. I was busy *electioneering*. A friend in Congress intimated that I was in danger of losing my office, and advised me to bestir myself. My friends were to be informed, and urged to exertions, to prevent the success of three competitors; viz., Mr. Bache, of Philadelphia (Dr. Franklin's son-in-law), who had been removed from the same office before, for neglect of duty (he had Mr. Robert Morris's interest to support him); Mr. Tench Coxe, of Philadelphia, who pub-

licly and cordially huzza'd in the streets when General Howe took possession of that city; and Colonel William Smith (son-in-law to the Vice-president), who had his father-in-law's merit and services to plead in his favour. This employed me pretty fully, and some very respectable applications in my favour were made to the President. The 19th inst. the President sent to me for a list of the outstanding debts, and the names of the postmasters from whom they were due. From this circumstance I became suspicious that my removal was in contemplation, and that these debts were intended as a plea for it. Under this impression, when I sent him the list, on the 21st, I wrote him a letter, intended to counteract the design (if such there was), and to exculpate myself. The following extract from it I send for your information, allowing you, at the same time, to make a *prudent* use of it in case of necessity: "The amount of the debts is much greater than it ought to be; but when your Excellency considers the prostration of morals; the habits of inattention to business, and inaccuracy in transacting it, which were occasioned by the war; the great number and extensive dispersion of the persons necessarily employed as postmasters, — that there were only two to superintend these, and do all the other business of the department; that debts due to the Union had, in general, no preference to other debts; that the laws of some States permitted fraudulent payments in paper money, while the tedious process in the courts of others tempted to delay, and that even the Acts of Congress created both additional business and embarrassments in transacting it, without affording the head of the department suitable assistance, — I flatter myself your Excellency will rather think it extraordinary that so much has been collected, than that so much remains unpaid. Nor has this been neglected; for many dunning letters have been written, and several journies made, with a view to its collection. A number of the de-

linquents have been removed from office, and in some cases security has been obtained." "More debts would undoubtedly have been collected, had I been placed in a situation more free from distraction; but, though I have made repeated applications for more assistance, and so clearly pointed out the necessity there was for it that a committee of Congress reported in favour of its being allowed, I have been left to encounter the whole business of the department almost alone. Your Excellency will have some idea of my situation, when I mention that, besides the general superintendence of the business through an extent of 1500 miles, exclusive of cross-roads, I have had to maintain a very burthensome correspondence; to examine the quarterly returns from all the eastern offices; to enter all the accounts; to keep the books of the department (which, since my appointment, has been done in double entry); to make communications to Congress and committees, which have frequently required lengthy and tedious calculations; to form and enter into contracts, and pay the contractors quarterly; to inspect the dead letters; and to do the business out of doors as well as within. My own attention has been so constantly necessary that I have not had time for proper relaxation, and, in three years past, have not been to the distance of ten miles from this city. I once hired a clerk, but found my salary was not equal to that expence in addition to the support of my family, and was obliged to dismiss him. Will your Excellency permit me to add that, notwithstanding the embarrassments of my situation, the business has been conducted without the aid of the Treasury (which, before my appointment, was frequently applied to), and that the department has been made productive?"

From the time that letter was written to this day, I have received neither letter nor message from the President; and, after being kept in suspence till last Friday, was informed by a friend that Mr. *Osgood* was nomi-

nated for Postmaster-General. I don't know whether you know him, or not; but he was formerly one of the Board of Treasury. He was the most attentive to business of any of the Board, and I believe is a man of integrity. He is, in my opinion, the most suitable for the office of any of my competitors; but I think I may add, without vanity, that he neither is as well qualified for it as myself, nor has an equal claim to it. I suppose the nomination was approved by the Senate yesterday, which seems to be a thing of course, and that this is the last letter you will receive from me while Postmaster-General. I never heard Mr. O. mentioned as a competitor, nor had anybody any suspicion of this appointment, that I can find, except Mrs. H., who intimated her suspicions to me some time ago, but could not tell on what they were founded. As I wish to have a good opinion of him, I hope he has not solicited for the office; and yet I think it hardly possible he could have got it without. If he has, the President's conduct must be very extraordinary. The three oldest officers (and *I* say three of the best) are now turned out of the service: Mr. Thomson, the late Secretary; Mr. Hillegas, the late Treasurer; and myself. This is the reward of 14 or 15 years' fidelity and fatigue, and of serving the public even with *halters round our necks!* for you will remember that civil officers were always excepted, when mercy was offered by the British proclamations. The reason of my removal, which is whispered about, is *lenity to postmasters*, from which you see I was not wrong in my conjecture. Upon a review of my conduct in office, I find no reason to accuse myself. The public good has been my sole object, and even envy itself cannot accuse me of malversation. My situation gave me frequent opportunities of making personal advantages; but I suffered them all to slip, from a determined resolution, taken at first, to abstain from even "the appearance of evil." I do not think the bare loss of the

office a subject of regret; but it is accompanied with this disagreeable circumstance, — that at my time of life, with a family on my hands, and habituated to official ideas, I must seek a new mode of subsistence, in a very different line. Mrs. H. and I are now much in the situation of Adam and Eve when driven out of Paradise; but we have a larger family.

> "The world is all before us, where to choose
> Our place of rest; and Providence our guide!"

Yes, Providence is our guide, and we shall have divine direction. Difficulties may await us, but God will deliver us out of them all.

I am glad that Mrs. Morse proves so agreeable to the people of Charlestown and Boston. Mr. Morse has got home, I suppose, ere now. Shew him this letter, for I cannot write him particulars.

If you write to me by post in future, get Mr. H. to enclose your letters in his (if he thinks it right, but do not *urge* it), and frank them, for I cannot afford to pay postage. Our correspondence must not expire with my official character, and we must improve private opportunities for friendly intercourse.

Mrs. H. behaves well upon this new occasion, and joins me in love to Mrs. B. Both our children have the whooping-cough. I am, dear sir,

Your very sincere friend,

Eben. Hazard.

P. S. I sent your last packet to Trenchard.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

New York, Oct. 13, 1789.

My dear Sir, — I thank you for your refreshing letter of 3d inst. The sympathy of friends is a cordial which even *mens conscia recti* does not render unnecessary. Mine have been very kind. What Providence intends by my removal I cannot yet tell; but I have no doubt it is my good, either spiritual or temporal, or both. Afflictions are a part of our portion in this life, and I think I can say, from experience, not the worst part. I can recollect instances which will warrant my saying, it is good for me that I have been afflicted, and this may prove an additional one. I hope, with you, that some door of usefulness will be opened to me soon; for it is dreadful to be a cipher in creation, and yet why should I repine if Providence should order it so? Perhaps it is necessary that some wheels in the great machine should stand still at times. But I am not *quite* idle. At present I am engaged in making an *index* to the Journals of the Representatives and the laws passed in the late session of Congress. Every little helps. This winter, I suppose, will be spent in *jobbing*, if I can get it to do; but I have thoughts of a jaunt to Philadelphia, where I have some business which ought to be attended to. I do not feel anxious about my successor's applying to me for information, for, as he assures me he did not solicit for my office, I feel no heart-burnings against him, and *offered him* any information which my experience might enable me to give him. This I did for two reasons: first, because I know that, were I in his situation, I should like a similar offer; and, secondly, because my not being *captain* of the ship is no reason why I should let her sink, if I can prevent it. It is probable that my letter to the President will be of service to my successor. It ought to be, for the public will and must

suffer if he is left under such embarrassments as I was. The department must be put upon a very different footing, if it is to be made productive. I believe Hastings will be continued; and, if so, we may derive benefit from it.

On account of my present unsettled situation, I don't know what to say about a magazine, or, indeed, *any* thing else. Do you think Thomas's will *endure?*

Thank you for Marant's sermon. He is a genius, to say the least of him. I wonder how he found out that a wooden ark was made by a mason. It is provoking to see such trifling with serious things.

I live at No. 29 Broadway, near the Oswego Market.

A singular disorder is very prevalent in town, which seems to be contagious. It is a cold, attended with an headach, soreness of the eyes, a copious discharge from the nose, and a cough: scarcely a family is free from it. Mrs. Hazard has it, and I suspect it is beginning to attack me. My little girl is almost well, but very feeble. The rest of the family are well.

The President will soon set out for the eastward, so that you will probably have the pleasure of seeing him.

Give our love to Mrs. Belknap, and thank her for her friendly sympathy. I am, my dear sir,

Your affectionate

EBEN. HAZARD.

P. S. Give our love to Mr. and Mrs. Morse.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

BOSTON, October 22, 1789.

DEAR SIR, — Your kind favour of 13th inst. was delivered me by our friend Hastings. I am glad to hear that he is likely to be continued. He seems to be pecu-

liarly attached to you, and is very obliging to me. I hope Libbey will also stand his ground. He is a truly worthy character, and has as much integrity and benevolence as any man living.

By one of the last ships, I have a letter from Michael Joy, of 7th August. He says: "It is the opinion of Mr. Dilly that a sufficient number of copies of the History could not be vended here to defray the expence of printing. Some, however, would sell; and when you have published the 2d volume, if you incline to send a number of sets to him, he will do what he can for your advantage." Precisely the same answer that I had from Longman about the first volume. As to the Foresters, he says, "No judgment can be formed before the completion of the work;" and for my farther comfort, he informs me that "an author having printed and published abroad has no exclusive copyright in the book in Great Brittain; consequently, can vest none in any bookseller here, but every person may of right republish in this kingdom a work printed abroad." Now, from this information, and from the experience which I have had by sending some of the first volume to England, and the *loss* sustained thereby, if I should send any of the second, it will be a mere act of complaisance, and I shall reap no other advantage than to have something said about it in the reviews. This, however, will not discourage me from going on with the work, trusting to American sales only for a *reimbursement of the expence.*

Mr. Morse and wife and Susan were to have dined with us to-day; but the arrival of his father and friends from Woodstock, last evening, prevents. I had a line from him this morning, and they are well.

I hope this will find you and your family free from the *influenza.* I expect that the company that is coming from New York will bring it here. We are making preparations for a procession, a review, and what not, to

treat the President with. You will hear enough of it by the newspapers. A family of children cannot receive a long absent parent with more real joy than will be felt by the citizens of this place on his coming. I know several sick persons who are lamenting that he should come before they are able to go abroad.

My dear sir, I hope you will not long remain without some settled business. Your character and abilities are so well known that I cannot entertain a doubt of something in reserve for you, though time and Providence must bring it forth. In the mean time, you are so far happy as to have a spirit of resignation and a desire to do good. This temper is the best preparation for filling some future station with credit and usefulness.

Thomas's Magazine, as far as I am able to judge, is likely to continue for some time, at least. It is pretty generally read; and, since it has come out, I have lost near 20 subscriptions for the Columbian.

If you should go to Philadelphia, pray write me from thence. What will become of Bryson? * I hear nothing now from or about Dr. Clarkson, and have had nothing from Dr. Rush since the letter which I passed open through your hands.

I wish you was here to laugh with me at Dr. Mather's "Wonders of the Invisible World," which I have taken out of the College Library. I will give you one choice extract or two: —

"The servile, abject, needy circumstances wherein the Devil keeps his slaves, do suggest to us how woful the Devil would render all our lives. We live in a Province which affords us all that may be necessary or comfortable; but we found it filled with vast herds of salvages, that never saw so much as a knife, or a nail, or a board, or a grain of salt, in all their days. No better would the

* Mr. Hazard's assistant in the post-office. — Eds.

Devil have the world provided for; nor should we have one convenient thing about us, but be as indigent as our *ragged witches* are, if the Devil's malice were not overruled. The Devil, like a dragon keeping a guard upon such fruits as would refresh a languishing world, has hindered mankind, for many ages, from hitting those useful inventions which yet were so obvious and facile that it is everybody's wonder they were no sooner hit upon. The bemisted world must jog on for thousands of years without the knowledge of the *loadstone*, till a Neapolitan stumbled upon it 300 years ago. Nor must the world be blest with such a matchless engine of learning and virtue as that of *printing*, till about the middle of the 15th century. Nor must one old man, all over the face of the whole earth, have the benefit of such a little though most needful thing as *a pair of spectacles*, till a Dutchman, a little while ago, accommodated us.

"We are told that the Devil made a storm which hurricanoed the house of Job upon the heads of them that were feasting in it. Paracelsus could have informed the Devil (if he had not been informed, as be sure he was before) that if much aluminious matter, with salt-petre, not thoroughly prepared, be mixed, they will send up a cloud of smoke, which will come down in rain. But undoubtedly the Devil understands the way to make a tempest, as well as to turn the winds at the solicitation of a Laplander. Whence perhaps it is that *thunders are observed oftener to break upon churches than upon any other buildings*." "One woe that may be looked for is a repetition of earthquakes; and this, perhaps, by the energy of the *Devil in the earth*." "The Devil is going to be dislodged of the *air*, where his present quarters are."

I could give you more, but my paper fails. Adieu.

Yours, J. B.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

New York, Oct. 29, 1789.

Dear Sir, — Since my last, I have received yours of 22d inst., forwarded by our friend Hastings, by a private hand, and accompanied with a packet for Trenchard, which I shall probably carry myself. Hastings and Libbey are both good men, and I think both will continue *in statu quo*.

The London booksellers seem to be all alike. They will be glad to sell on commission for you, so as to be sure of a profit, but will run no risque. Joy is right as to a book first printed and published here; but, query, cannot the law be evaded thus? Suppose you make a *copy* of your MS., and send that to England, and sell the copyright, reserving to yourself the right of printing for America. It will then not be liable to the objection Joy mentions. While that is on its passage, you may be printing here, so as not to lose time; and for another reason, too, — viz., to be able to enter your book in the proper office before any can come from England, so as to secure your copyright in America. But, in case of beginning to print before you hear from England, it should be done *sub rosa;* not because there would be any thing unjust in it, for you would sell with this reservation, but merely to prevent its being known in England that you had gone to press; for then the booksellers there would say, the work is in the press in America, and will soon appear, and then we may print it as we please, without purchasing. So with the Foresters, and any thing else. This plan would cost you the trouble of copying, and a little expence for paper; but I think the chance of a sale would be worth that.

We are glad to hear that Mr. Morse and family are well. From his late illness, I was not without apprehensions on his account. He must take care of himself. We are pretty

clear of the *influenza* in my family, though there is plenty of it in the city. I have been confined for a week lately with the piles, a new disorder to me, but am now almost well.

From the hints thrown out in the papers, I expect you will have rare doings on the President's arrival.

> "The Bostonian sons
> Will cannonade with all their guns."

How under heaven was that piece so well recommended that Russel could not refuse to print it? Had Mather Byles been alive, I should suppose [it] to have come from his pen.

I hope, with you, that I shall not be long without some settled business; for I shall be a most wretched being if I am to be idle and useless. I have just finished an index to the Laws of the Last Session of Congress, and am to make one to the Journals of the Rep. This will yield some small matter towards making the pot boil. At intervals, I engage in sorting my own papers (for I have got rid of all my official ones); and in doing it I have found your other White Mountain letter, which I now enclose. If I can, I intend to send the pamphlets by Barnard next trip, unless I should meet with a safe conveyance by land sooner.

It seems to me Thomas spoke rather discouragingly about his magazine, when I saw him here. I do not like the compilation; and, if it was not for you, Trenchard's would be worth little, unless he should get some new hands to help him. Bryson is out of office as well as myself. I don't know what will become of him.

I had thoughts of setting out for Philadelphia to-morrow, but the rainy weather will prevent, and there will be no other opportunity before Monday; when, *Deo volente*, I expect to start. It is like going to the East Indies. I have not heard from Dr. Clarkson lately.

It was well for Mather that he was in good keeping, or the devil would have paid him for abusing him so. What a charming philosopher he was!

I send you the September magazine, which you ought to have had sooner; but *I was afraid to venture.* However, I now send it, and with it a great deal of love to Mrs. B., in which Mrs. H. joins.

Your friend, EBEN. HAZARD.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

BOSTON, November 11, 1789.

MY DEAR SIR, — It always gives me great pleasure to converse with you, but I had much rather have you at my elbow than at this distance. Once you told me you had a desire to pitch your tent in New England. Why cannot that desire return? You are certainly well respected here, and I think you have many qualities which will render you very agreeable to the people here. But you know, better than I can tell you, what to do. I wish you well settled, and to your mind. To be afloat is a scene of anxiety which I know by experience is extremely disagreeable, on many accounts, to a person of true sensibility, and especially that has a family.

I thank you for your hints relative to an evasion, &c.; but I conceive it would be fruitless for me to make such an attempt. They are too cunning for me. I must content myself with small earnings. My own opinion of myself is that I am like the old navigators before the invention of the compass, who were afraid to venture out of sight of land; and perhaps my fortune may be, "Nothing venture, nothing have," which I would reverse thus, "Nothing venture, nothing *lose.*" I am not averse to labour, but I am not for running risques. I have even done adventuring in lotteries. Nothing but *necessity* and a

firm conviction of *duty* can prevail on me to venture any thing where I have not a good prospect of success.

There is no need of my giving you any account of the reception of the President. The papers are full of the matter. All I shall say is respecting myself. When I waited on him, in company with the rest of my brethren, on my being introduced to him by name, he said, "I am indebted to you, sir, for the History of New Hampshire; and it gave me great pleasure." To which I answered, or meant to answer, for it came upon me quite unexpected, "I am obliged to your Excellency for a very polite letter of acknowledgment, and am extremely glad to see you." This was all. Each one said what he pleased, and we staid with him about five or six minutes. We did not trouble him with an address; nor did any of us preach *to him*, as did some of our brethren elsewhere. I believe he is heartily tired of adulatory and fulsome compliments, whether in the shape of addresses, sermons, or *odes*.

What I said respecting Thomas's magazine was founded on the opinion which I hear people express of it. It has so much reputation that I am confident he may venture to continue it another year; but there is room enough for improvement. I expect Trenchard's will drop, but I shall have a piece in each number till the end of the year.

Carey has written to me to supply him with hints, queries, &c., such as the Gentleman's Magazine abounds with. I have written to him, and proposed an *amendment* to his terms. If he adopts it, I shall probably engage. I took the liberty to mention you to him, as one that might assist him in the same way. To this I thought I was bound in friendship to you, and for the interest of his work, which I am sure might be promoted by your exertions. Nothing would please me better than to be concerned with you in the same business. Brother Morse is sick and well, by turns, as often as any man that I am

acquainted with. He was over here at lecture to-day, in the rain; so you may conclude he is not sick now.

We have all had the influenza, or, as *we* call it, the "Washington cold," because it began in the wet weather which happened at the President's arrival, and during the greater part of the time of his stay with us. I have suffered five days' confinement. My eyes and nose ran *scalding water* one day; but I am now well, without the help of physician or medicine. Will you bear with another extract from "The Wonders of the Invisible World," by the renowned C. M., D.D. and F.R.S. 'Tis a sermon on those words, Rev. 12. 12, "The Devil is come down in great wrath," &c. "Alas! the devils swarm about us like the frogs of Egypt. Are we at our *tables?* there will be devils to tempt us to sensuality. Are we in our *beds?* there will be devils to tempt us to carnality. Are we in our *shops?* there will be devils to tempt us to dishonesty. Yea, though we get into the *church*, there will be devils to haunt us in the very temple itself."

In another discourse, on 2 Cor. 11. 11, "We are not ignorant of his devices." "No place that I know of has got such a spell upon it as will always keep the Devil out. The meeting-house wherein we assemble is filled with many holy people and many holy concerns; but if our eyes were so refined, as the servant of the prophet had his of old, I suppose we should see a *throng of devils* in this very place. There are angels that hark how I preach and how you hear, and our own sad experience is enough to intimate that the devils are likewise rendezvousing here.

"When we are in our church assemblies, O, how many devils do you imagine crowd in among us? There is a devil that rocks one to sleep; there is a devil that makes another to be thinking of he scarce knows what; and there is a devil that makes another to be pleasing himself with wanton and wicked speculations. It is also possible that we have our *closets* and our *studies* glori-

ously perfumed with devotion every day; but, alas! can we shut the Devil out of them? No: go where we will, we shall still find a devil nigh unto us. Only when we come to heaven we shall be out of his reach for ever. He was hissed out of Paradise, and shall never enter it any more."

I wonder what he would have said on that text, "Resist the Devil, *and he will flee from you*"? Certainly this cannot consist with the idea of his omnipresence? Adieu, my dear friend. Let us keep out of his way at bed, board, study, and church.

Yours, J. B

Our love to your fireside.

P. S. Were I to preach on the subject of *witchcraft*, I would have this for my text: "O foolish Galatians! who hath bewitched you?" I would first endeavour to shew that people may be *bewitched;* secondly, that they are great *fools* for being bewitched; and, thirdly, that it concerns them to enquire *who* has bewitched them; and my inference should be, if there were *no fools*, there would be *no witchcraft;* or rather I would transpose the second and third heads. The same inference would come out better.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

New York, Nov. 21, 1789.

My dear Sir, — I have been to Philadelphia. Friends there are in general well, but all have had the *influenza*. Dr. Clarkson and family spoke of you in terms of warm affection. I did not see Dr. Rush, except at a distance, in the street. Your packet for Trenchard I left at his house; but, as he had come to New York, I did not see him. Upon my return home, I found that Barnard had arrived; and by him I send you the pamphlets you wanted,

which are included in my 45th and 47th volumes. To these I add a publication on the same subject, made by our Assembly, in 1773. What an uproar the President made to the eastward! Should his successor expect the same attentions, how could they be refused? It would not do to tell him his merit was not equal to his predecessors. I don't like the precedent. Even Mr. Secretary has had his share, too. He seems to have been married to nobody, on purpose to furnish an opportunity of telling what a clever fellow he is; and, when this is done, he is formally unmarried, by "best authority." How perfectly farcical! Such things tend to disgrace us, and the story of the virtues of the bridegroom has already occasioned the following: —

"The P——t's cat
Caught hold of a rat,
And the rat bit the cat.
What think you of that!"

I am still unemployed, except in index-making. My Philadelphia friends are anxious for my settling among them, but I am at a loss what to do. However, as I have most of my winter stores laid in, I think I shall content myself where I am 'til spring. Mrs. H. joins me in love to Mrs. B. and yourself. She is but *so so*, at present. I am, dear sir,

Your affectionate EBEN. HAZARD.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

BOSTON, December 17, 1789.

IN the appendix to the narrative which you sent me concerning the New Hampshire Grants, there is reference to a report of the Lords of Trade, dated 17 July, 1764, "relative to the disputes that have some years subsisted between the Provinces of N. Hampshire and N.

York concerning the boundary," upon which report the decision of the King in Council of 20th July, 1764, was grounded, whereby Connecticut River was established the boundary. This *report* I want. Probably it may be in the Secretary's office, at N. York. Will it be too much trouble for you to inquire; and, if a copy can be obtained *without expence*, to procure it for me? If it cannot be had in America, I must send to England for it. Therefore, I should be glad to know, as early as possible, whether it can be had here or not. We are all well, and send our love.

Yours affectionately, JEREMY BELKNAP.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

NEW YORK, Dec. 27, 1789.

MY DEAR SIR, — By Captain Barnard I have received your two favors of 12th and 17th inst. I am glad the pamphlets got safely to you. It is not probable that I shall want them very soon, so that you may use them as you find it convenient.

As to "vindicating myself," I think it altogether unnecessary. I have no consciousness of criminality in any one instance, so that I shall have no accusations brought against me where they are most to be feared. Those from other quarters I despise. Though I feel much obliged to you and Mr. Morse for your friendship, I am sorry you have gone to the newspaper for my vindication; and more so that you have published any extracts from my letters, because this has a direct tendency to introduce an altercation, without convincing a single reader. I am fully of Dr. Witherspoon's opinion, that a man should never take any notice of a false report. It will die much sooner than it can be killed. Indeed, it cannot be killed at all; but every attempt for this purpose will only serve

to keep it alive. If removal from office fixes a stigma on a man's character, it is done already; and a piece in a newspaper cannot remove it, but only tends to make the stigma more conspicuous. This reminds me of what I once met with in a Presbyterian church to which I went on a particular occasion. After sermon, a man presented his child to be baptized. The minister, instead of saying something (as is usual) upon the nature and design of the ordinance, began with reading the man a pretty smart lecture on the heinousness of his sin, and after that proceeded as usual. My curiosity was excited, and upon inquiry I found that the man had committed fornication with the woman he married, of which this child was the fruit. He had, however, made such acknowledgments to *the Session* (the representatives of *the church*) as induced them to admit his child to baptism, and no more ought to have been said about it; but the good man, by his zeal for discipline, propagated the scandal, and made the offence known to many who would never have heard of it.

People here, and I suppose in most other places, have done talking about my removal from office, and I had almost forgotten it myself; but, in the present dearth of news, I suppose all the printers will eagerly catch at the publication in the Centinel, and I shall once more be kicked from N. Hampshire to Georgia. When I wrote you, the 27th September, I supposed there would be *reports* about me, and meaned only to enable you to contradict them, as you might meet with them in company; but I never wished to appear in a newspaper. However, it cannot be helped now; but I must beg of you never to "put" me there again.

I shall enquire about "the report," and try to get it for you. It is undoubtedly to be had in America.

I suppose Mr. Morse has informed you of the addition to my family. The young gentleman (his name is *Erskine*), his mother, and the rest of us, are well. We all

send love to Mrs. Belknap, yourself, Mr. and Mrs. Morse, and Susan. I am, dear sir,

Yours, EBEN. HAZARD.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

NEW YORK, 20th Jan., 1790.

MY DEAR SIR, — I intended writing by Barnard, but was disappointed, and have known of no *private* conveyance since, that I recollect. Thank you for your congratulations on the birth of my son. He and his mother are in good health.

I have spoken to Mr. Allen about your History left in his hands. He has sold but very few. Shall settle with him for them, and receive the remainder.

Shall also write to New Haven, and direct the cash to be sent me for such as are sold, and the unsold copies to be returned. They shall be taken care of till I hear from you what I am to do with them.

Carey has not formally applied to me, but told me, when in Philadelphia, he had applied to you, and mentioned the terms; but I did not consider this as intended to engage me. I think he bids *well*. A dollar for so small a matter is no bad price. The packet for him came safe to hand, but I have not known of a private conveyance to Philadelphia since I received it. There is a gentleman now in town by whom I shall send it.

Considering the circumstances of the case, I do not see how you could have vindicated me in any other *manner* than you did; and, as I mentioned in a former letter, I am obliged to you for your friendly interference. When I saw the extracts, knowing what effects they *might* have, I felt more than I did on losing my office, and went to our printers and requested them not to publish them. This, I believe, stopped their circulation. However, they

have undoubtedly been seen by some folks; and how they may operate, if an office for me should have been in contemplation, I don't know. There were no *reports* here; and if they originated, as has been suggested, in a great man's family, some young gentlemen have made themselves unnecessarily busy, — for what purpose must be left to conjecture. I am glad the publication has had so good an effect in Boston, for I confess I am not indifferent as to the public opinion of my public conduct.

Mr. Wingate is very kind in the permission he has given you. I shall probably take some liberties with him, and maybe with my friend, Col. Langdon, who now *keeps* with me, as the New England phrase is.

I have desired M. to tell Madam that Mrs. H. says apron-tape is plenty here, if she should want any.

Mr. Morse must come on here immediately, or his printer will gain an advantage against him. I have wrote to him by this night's post.

We wish your family well through the measles. Mine are all well, and send our love to you and Mrs. B. I am, dear sir,

Your sincere friend,

Eben. Hazard.

P. S. I have become a dealer in certificates *for the present.*

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

Boston, January 30, 1790.

Dear Sir, — I had your letter by N. B. this week; and, as I find that our friend M. is hastening to New York for *apron-tape* or something else, I must write by him.

I am more and more convinced of the propriety and *necessity* of what I published in your vindication; and I

suspect you need be under no apprehension of what *might* be the consequence of it, in certain circumstances, for it is quite plain to me that *he* or *they*, who could treat you with so much cruelty, could have no intention of providing another office for you. But enough of this!

It pleases me to find that you are not destitute of business; but there are so many engaged in the certificate line that it seems to me incredible that they can all get a living. We have the street from the Old South to the Town House, and so down State Street, lined on both sides (with very little interval) with boards, on which is inscribed *public securities*, &c. At one door there is on one side *public securities*, and on the other *leather breeches*, which may not improperly be called *private securities;* at least, they are so intended.

Mr. Morse takes with him a packet for Carey. Should *he* not meet with an opportunity to forward it, I shall desire him to leave it with you. If you judge it will not be any great expence to him, I would have it sent by post; for, by agreement, he is to pay postage backward and forward. But I do not wish to burden him with charges.

Pray who are the setters on of the new magazine at Philadelphia?

If you have received any cash, on my account, of the persons who had my books to sell, be so good as to remit it to Robert Aitken, and be sure to make him give a receipt. I owe him now about 125 dollars. The unsold books I should like to have sent me by Barnard. He is a clever fellow, and does not charge me any freight, but says he will take it out in preaching.

Two of my children have passed well through the measles. Betsy, æ. 15, is now down: this is the 9th day. She is very low, but we hope not dangerous. It proves pretty light in general, and I have heard of none that have died with it.

Our Selectmen and the Governour and Sheriff are quarrelling in the newspapers about what happened on the day of the arrival of the President. The Sheriff's conduct reminds me of a passage in Shakespeare's King Lear: —

"Thou hast seen a farmer's dog bark at a beggar? Ay, sir. And the creature run from the cur? There thou might'st behold the great image of authority: a *dog*'s obeyed in *office*."

The Selectmen, as you may see in the Centinel of this day, have said something, *in italics*, which must affect His Excellency very sensibly. They have there told the *true* reason of his not going out of town to meet the President. His indisposition was *mental*, not bodily. I suspect he will have but few votes in this town at the next election.

Please to accept Mrs. B.'s and my affectionate regards for yourself, and Mrs. Hazard, and children. I am,

Yours sincerely, JERE. BELKNAP.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

Sunday evening, 7th February, 1790.

MY DEAR SIR, — This is only to inform you, and to request you to inform our friend Mr. Morse, who I suppose is now with you, that this morning died of an apoplectic fit our worthy friend Richard Cary, Esq., of Charlestown.

Every thing relating to the interment must be passed before it will be possible for Mr Morse to hear of it. It is unfortunate for him to be absent at this time, but the will of Providence must be submitted to. I heard from Mrs. Morse on Friday evening, and she was well, excepting the effect of the fall which she had the morning of Mr. Morse's departure, which was not bad. My family

are happily recovered of the measles, and join in cordial salutations to you and yours. I am

Your affectionate friend,

JEREMY BELKNAP.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

BOSTON, February 13, 1790.

DEAR SIR, — I wrote you last Sunday that on that day our worthy friend Richard Cary, Esq., quitted this world and entered into his rest. The manner of his death was this. He had been engaged in writing letters to several friends in England the day and evening before, and went to bed as well as usual. About 2 o'clock he called, by knocking. One of the domestics went into his chamber. He sent for his son Richard, who providentially was in the house, told him he was struck with death. His second daughter was then called, and the doctor, who gave him a puke, which had no effect. He said to his two children: "I am going to leave you, and I have nothing more to say than what I have often told you. Love God, and keep his commandments." His speech and senses failed, and he died about three o'clock. The doctor supposes he was seized near the heart, and that the disorder proceeded upwards to the brain.

He was buried on Wednesday, with every mark of respect due to so good a character. If Mr. Morse should be with you when you receive this, please to tell him that Mr. Osgood prayed at the funeral, that the family propose to attend at Mr. Freeman's church to-morrow, and at ours the next Sunday; after which they hope Mr. Morse will be at home, when they will attend at Charlestown. Mr. Treadwell preached for him last Sunday; and Mr. McKean, of Beverly, will preach there to-morrow. I know not who is expected the succeeding Sabbath. I saw Mrs. Morse on the day of the funeral. She was not

abroad, — had been confined a few days with a cold, but was better. We have had eight days of severe frost, dry and unrelenting. Our inner harbour is entirely frozen. Boys have passed to the castle and back, on the ice.

This comes by our friend Cutler, who is charged with Ohio business, of which I suppose you know more than is in my power to inform you. Let me hear from you by him; and if you have procured the Report of the Lords of Trade, which I asked you for some time ago, please to send it by him.

Our children are now happily recovered of the measles, and the family is well.

We all unite in the kindest salutations to yourself and Mrs. Hazard. I am

Your affectionate friend, JEREMY BELKNAP.

P. S. If the Act of Congress respecting literary property should be printed before Mr. — I ask his pardon, Dr. — Cutler should return, please to send it to me.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

NEW YORK, March 6, 1790.

MY DEAR SIR, — *Dr.* Cutler handed me your favour of 13th ultimo. From its age, I suspect he was detained on the road. Mr. Morse had left us long before it arrived, so that I could not communicate any part of it to him, as you desired. What a strange winter we have had! Hardly any snow or cold weather. For a very few days, indeed, the cold was intense, but did not last longer than with you. There is a three-story brick house in this city, now nearly under cover, the cellar of which was dug last month; and on Monday we shall begin digging the cellar of a building for a charity school. This morning was warm and very foggy; before noon, we had as beautiful, pleasant sunshine as ever you saw in spring; at noon,

showers, as in April; a clear, cool afternoon, and now fine starlight.

Though I have made repeated inquiries, I cannot meet with the *Report* yet, but am far from being discouraged. I will try to get it by Cutler's return. The bookseller here has sent me 15 of your History bound, and 18 in boards, and 12 out of 13 (bound) are returned from Newhaven. The other was given, by your direction, to Dr. Stiles. How many did you send here in all? I congratulate you on the recovery of your children from the measles. Our little boy is to be inoculated for the smallpox next week. I send you one of Clarkson's Essays on the Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species, and one of his Impolicy of the Slave Trade.* Congress will probably put the $10 per head on negroes imported this session.

It does not appear to *me* to be possible for the postoffice to be made to produce so many thousand dollars as is stated in the public papers; and I think the new P. M. G. has fairly *committed* himself, as they say. The fact is, *inter nos*, that he knows nothing about the business, and I am told he does not take proper pains to be informed. A committee of Congress has reported a P. O. bill, and, if my information is right, without even consulting him about it. I have been applied to for my remarks on it. These things look oddly. Before the P. O. can produce what is supposed, our commerce must encrease vastly; for commerce is, and must be, its chief support. In short, the department can do nothing without it. We shall see what the nett produce will be at the year's end. Let Mrs. B. know she is affectionately remembered by Mrs. H. and

Your friend, EBEN. HAZARD.

P. S. Our love to Mr. Morse and family, when you see them.

* The reader will readily recognize this author as the celebrated Thomas Clarkson, M.A., of England. — EDS.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

Boston, March 10, 1790.

Dear Sir, — I had your letter by Mr. Morse, and am glad to hear that his affair is compromised, and that he has *lost* no more money. What with his peregrinations, vexations, leaky trunks, and incidental expences, I think he has *paid* sufficient earnest for his future gains.

Inclosed you have a copy of a circular letter which I am sending all about New Hampshire to collect all the gleanings of information which can be had; for, while any scene is unexplored or unattempted, I shall not think my business done. There is one, however, which is *to me* inaccessible; and that is the Plantation Office, in England. I *must* do without searching that. Mrs. B. unites with me in love to you and yours.

I am your sincere friend

Jere. Belknap.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

Boston, 23d March, 1790.

My dear Sir, — Your last was extremely acceptable, as it enabled me to pay a debt; viz., to return Clarkson's Essay to Colonel Waters, from whom I borrowed it, to give to a person who is engaged in the Guinea trade, and, to evade our laws, is gone to France, there to fit out his ship for the detested business. I am afraid the book will not have any good effect on him; but, if it should serve only to gall his conscience a little, it may some time or other bring him to serious recollection.

I thank you, dear sir, for enabling me to do this. We have indeed had a strange winter; and this month has presented all sorts of weather, — more snow than all the

preceeding winter. Last Sabbath was a summer day; yesterday and to-day, snow.

You could scarcely imagine what a rage we have here for lotteries. 8,000 tickets sold in four days, in the Marblehead lottery, the scheme calculated on the plan of a Dutch lottery. I wonder Secretary Hamilton does not hit upon a lottery. It would be more popular than laying a duty on *salt*, which, if he does, will greatly injure our fisheries.

I think 48 books were sent to your care. Of those sent to New Haven, Mr. Morse tells me, none were sold. You speak of 45 returned to you. One was given to Yale College; therefore, *two* only have been *sold* in New York. Certainly this is a "day of *small things*." I am going on (*festina lente*) with the 2d volume. So much has been said to me about writing it, that I shall be much disappointed if the sale of it does not help off the remaining half of the 1st volume. A second disappointment would almost, or quite, unnerve me.

Jere. Libbey was here, and spent a day or two with us last week, and it was quite refreshing to see him. I shewed him the last paragraph of your letter, about *his new master;* and I found that he had conceived the same idea of him, as a person inattentive to business. He spoke of you in terms of great affection and respect. I scarcely know a worthier character than he is.

I hear that our friend the Doctor is likely to be *detained* a great while at New York. Is there any probability of his succeeding in his application for an abatement in the price of Ohio lands, and in his plan for a university? I have not seen Mr. Morse since last Thursday. He was well then, but said his wife was poorly. I shall probably see them to-morrow, as I expect to go to Cambridge. If any thing material should occur, I will write again soon. This will go by Mr. Appleton, Loan Officer for this State, who is, I suppose, going to settle

his accounts. Mrs. B. remembers you kindly, and desires her love to Mrs. Hazard, as does

Your friend, JERE. BELKNAP.

P. S. Can you pick up any papers or anecdotes of *Peter Stuyvesant*, the Dutch Governour of New York? Pintard promised me something concerning him; but I have not, as yet, received any thing. He says that one of his posterity is yet living in New York, and I think of the same name.

You will soon see the Life and Character of Dr. Winthrop in the Museum. I have agreed with Carey that his printing my biographical communications shall not injure *my right* to them in future.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

NEW YORK, 27 March, 1790.

DEAR SIR, — After many fruitless enquiries, and searches among my newspapers, &c., for the *Report*, I was directed to a Mr. Kelly, who has made Vermont business his study for many years. He informed me that the *Report* was never in this country, and is to be found (probably) nowhere but in the Plantation Office, in England. The order of the King in Council upon it you have in my thin Folio Volume.

In Chalmers's Political Annals you will find something about New Hampshire, from the "Plantation Office;" and this, I suspect, is all you will get from that source. I believe the 1st volume, only, is published yet. Mr. Morse has a copy of it. I have read it with pleasure, though I do not like his doctrine respecting the right of the aborigines to the country.

I have made some enquiry for Perrin's abridgment of Chambaud, but cannot find it yet. Shall enquire farther.

Mr. Jefferson has arrived, and accepts the appointment of Secretary of State.

Another attempt is making to bring my papers to light as an appendix to a Magazine. I don't know how it will succeed. If the persons who propose being concerned in the Magazine undertake it, I think they will publish a good one.

Did you ever see such a piece of work as Congress has made of the Quakers' Petition about slaves? They were thrown into a great ferment by it, and some very indecent expressions fell from some of the members. Many who are anxious for the honour and dignity of the National Government were extremely hurt by such deviations from the rules of propriety.

Our youngest child has got safely through the small-pox, and we are now all well. We unite in love to yourself and Mrs. Belknap.

Yours affectionately, EBEN. HAZARD.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

BOSTON, May 7, 1790.

MY DEAR SIR, — Your last letter is dated the 27 March. I am sorry that the Report of the Lords of Trade cannot be had in this country. I suppose it might be had by a *proper* application in England; but I have not the means, and therefore must be content without it. I have seen Chalmers, and have a copy now in my hands.

Mr. V. P. Adams told me that Chalmers was provided for by the English Ministry, and would probably "drudge no more at Annals." He seems to have the *patience*, but not the *candour*, necessary for an historian.

Barnard has arrived, but has not brought my books. I thank you for your trouble in looking for Perrin's abridgment. Should you meet with Nugent's Pocket Dictionary

(French and English), it would answer the same purpose. My son John will be a Frenchman.

I wish your papers may be brought to light, by means of a magazine, or otherwise. But who are the persons concerned? I have had application from a Mr. Irvine, of Philadelphia, to engage with the proprietors of the *Asylum;* but I have declined it.

You speak of the ferment into which Congress were thrown by the Quakers' Petition. I wish you had given me, or that you would give me, your sentiments on the propriety of such an application, and a particular reason for my desiring it is this: There is an *Abolition Society* set up at Providence, and they have elected several gentlemen of this town and vicinity corresponding members, of which number I am one. The other day each of us received a letter from the President, *David Howell*, by order of the Society, requesting that we would promote an association of the advocates of freedom and humanity here, with a view to "join with the Society of New York, and bring on the subject next session, with additional weight; a movement which," he says, "we understand the Society there are preparing to make."

The proposition does not strike me agreeably. First, it comes from a *foul quarter*, Rhode Island. Secondly, I am loth to meddle with things that do not belong to me. When there was a call to petition against the slave-trade to our own General Court, I was forward in the matter, because I thought it my duty, and the application happily succeeded; but there does not appear to be any such call now. But thirdly, and principally, I conceive the present Constitution to be a compact between the States; and one of the express stipulations is, that "the migration or importation of such persons as *any of the States* now existing shall think proper to admit shall not be prohibited by Congress prior to the year 1808." Therefore, all applications to Congress for such prohibition are absolutely

precluded; and I apprehend that the stirring up a controversy on this subject may endanger the Union. I was not pleased with the petition of the Quakers. I think them very contemptible politicians. They are governed by their feelings, and they do not reason. They think all mankind must submit to what their impulses dictate. I wish they had been consistent with themselves; and, that as they profess to be advocates for the rights of mankind, they had shewn some regard to the rights of *white* people as well as *black*. What did they do towards supporting the rights of America when invaded by Brittain? Then there was a clear call to support the rights and liberties of their country, but we heard nothing of their movings and drawings in *that* cause, unless it was the wrong way. Now there is an union and compact, formed on *certain conditions*, they want to violate those conditions, and set us again into a state of anarchy. Suppose the Southern States should say, The principles of the Union are infringed, and we will withdraw: we will keep our slaves, and you may keep your Quakers. What a contemptible figure will America make in the eyes of the world! I wish the Quakers would lie still and mind their own business, and let Government mind theirs, without any more meddling. Once our forefathers, here in New England, overstrained their zeal in persecuting the Quakers; and, ever since their posterity have been convinced of their error, they have been over-doing the other way, complimenting the Quakers, and flattering them, and speaking better of them than they deserve. I have lived among them long enough to know that they are no better than other people, either in point of morality or wisdom, or even *neatness*, for which they are so much celebrated. Have you seen a piece which *Brissot de Warville* has written about them?* I am told he married a Quaker wife.

* This was probably the *Examen Critique* of the travels of De Chastellux in North America, refuting his opinions relating to the Quakers, &c. London, 1786. —Eds.

Well, so much for the Quakers. My question is, What is your Society about? Do they intend to petition Congress? and with what view? Let me know your thoughts on the matter as soon as convenient, that I may be able to form a proper answer to this Mr. *David Howell*. Do you know any thing of this man's character? I have heard that he is a person of no principle, but a seeker of popularity.

I have had a very severe attack of the influenza, which has brought me very low. Through divine goodness, I am now a convalescent. We have had so little good weather that my recovery has been much retarded.

All mine send love to all yours, and I am, dear sir,

Your very affectionate friend,

JEREMY BELKNAP.

I have almost got through my topographical description of N.H., and find it a work of more variety and labour than I expected. It will make no less than 24 sections or chapters.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

NEW YORK, June 5, 1790.

MY DEAR SIR, — I send you by Captain Barnard a box containing 25 of your books, bound, and 18 in boards; and I sold one, bound, for 1½ dollars, which completes the number I received. Since the books were packed, I have met with Chambaud's Dictionary, which I send herewith. It cost 1¼ dollars. I enclose the other quarter, which pays for the book sold.

The Act for securing literary property has at length appeared in this day's paper. I send you a copy.

I do not think the want of the Report of the Lords of Trade a subject of regret, as you have it, at least substantially, in the Decision of the King in Council. It is a pity

that Chalmers will probably "drudge no more at Annals." He *could* produce many valuable materials for our history, and *we* could correct his want of candour. His idea of both *Indian* and *English* rights is erroneous. If the Indians had no right to more of the country than they actually occupied, certainly the English right could not be more extensive; and yet he argues that it was. Besides, he is willing to allow full weight to the right the English derived from *discovery*, but seems to forget that the Indians had a prior, and consequently a better right on this score. However, it was necessary for his purpose that the Indian right should be destroyed; and he has done it, without much ceremony.

The application for my papers sleeps at present, but the Magazine is going on. I suppose my hearing more on the subjects depends on its success. However, the Act for securing literary property may possibly put it in my power to make a tolerable bargain about them, if I can meet with a printer or bookseller of sufficient property and spirit.

I did not at the time, nor do I yet, approve the application made by the Quakers to Congress, or rather the manner in which it was conducted. If, as I understand, the Quakers meant no more than to request Congress to lay the African trade under such restrictions as the Constitution allowed, there certainly was nothing improper in it; and it ought to have been done. I believe this was all that was intended; but one of the petitions mentioned *abolition*, and this alarmed the Southern members, and excited violent opposition, which was accompanied with a degree of illiberality and personal invective that was truly distressing to those who had the honour and dignity of the Union at heart.

Congress might, and ought to have, imposed a duty of 10 dollars per head on all negroes imported. They might have restrained our own citizens from going to Africa for

negroes, and carrying them to the West Indies; and they might have hindered foreigners from fitting out in our ports for the African trade. All this might have been done, but the Southern members affected to believe that a total prohibition of the importation of slaves was wanted, and that those already amongst us were to be liberated; and some of them made a terrible outcry, and became abusive. They abused the Quakers generally, and an individual of them (then in the gallery) by name. Such conduct was infamous. The application of the Quakers was ill-timed, and discovered more zeal than knowledge. They discovered, in my opinion, a forwardness and obstinacy and stubbornness in the business, which were unbecoming. They are too prone to these things.

I belong to the Society here, but have not attended their meetings lately, for I was constantly saddled with an undue proportion of business; and, though I will cheerfully do my share on such occasions, I do [not] love to do more, while others are idle. I have not heard that our Society intend to make such application as you mention, though it is possible they do. If it will stir up controversy, it ought to be avoided, especially in the present situation of our affairs. I do not know D. Howel's character, though he has become member of Congress.

The influenza has raged here, as well as with you, but has not proved mortal, except when accompanied by other disorders. My family have had but little of it.

I am glad you get on so well with your History. Ramsay's General History of the Revolution is published, but I have not seen it. Can you tell me [whether] Mr. Parsons's (late of Newburyport) Sermons are published yet? I am asked the question from Scotland.

Congress, — I hate to say any thing about them, for I can say nothing good.

I have no prospect of business yet. My friends proposed me lately for a member of Assembly, but did not

succeed. I wanted 23 votes more than I had. Perhaps it will do better next year, if I live.

Mrs. H. joins in love to Mrs. Belknap and yourself with, dear sir,

Yours, EBEN. HAZARD.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

BOSTON, June, 16, 1790.

MY DEAR SIR, — I have received the box and delivered the trunk, and thank you much for your care and goodness. The Dictionary suits John exactly.

Parsons's Sermons were printed several years ago. I have enquired, and find none in this town. I suppose they may be had at Newburyport; and, as they were printed in two 8vo volumes, it is probable the price may be somewhere about 18*s.* or 20*s.*

I have written an answer to David Howell, expressing my doubt of the propriety of addressing Congress, or rather *admonishing* them, and of the inexpediency of an association *here* to abolish slavery, since *we* have none to abolish. One other gentleman has written much in the same manner. I know not what the rest have done.

I wish Congress would spend their time in doing what is really their duty. By their latest proceedings, they seem to me like a company of old women at a gossipping, contriving where they shall hold their next meeting; but perhaps *veritas latet in puteo*, their views in so doing may be too *deep* for my penetration.

I am really sorry that you are yet out of business. I wish you may get into the Assembly, because I am sure you could be useful. For the same reason I wish you a seat in Congress. I mean the next. Why can you not aspire at, and obtain it?

My influenza lasted me six weeks, and was finally cured

by bathing in salt water. I hope it will not visit us again till thirty years come round. Such is the length of time since it was here before.

Mrs. B. joins in sincere love to yourself and Mrs. Hazard.

I am yours affectionately, JERE. BELKNAP.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

NEW YORK, August 7, 1790.

MY DEAR SIR, — The Parsons's Sermons I wrote about are a posthumous publication, about 60 in number, which were to be published by his son. Were these what you referred to? I don't want to get them (at least not yet), but only to know whether such things are.

Congress are, at length, about adjourning. They have done more business (I think) this last month than all the rest of the session.

I failed in my attempt to get into the Assembly, through the sickness of some of my friends. After all, I wanted but 24 votes of being in. A seat in Congress may be more easily attainable by and bye than now; but I think I must confine my views to an humbler sphere, — to private life. The P. won't give me an office. I have applied for one lately, but did not get it. Do you think I could make any thing by publishing the Records of the United Colonies of New England? Could I get subscribers enough in New England to make it worth my while? Here, I suppose, there will be but few.

It is late, and I must have done. Mrs. H. talks of setting out for Shrewsbury to-morrow, with our daughter and youngest son. The latter has the whooping-cough, and is getting teeth. We join in love to you and Mrs. Belknap.

I have lately been, as a commissioner, to West Point, to

appraise the land there which Congress are about purchasing. I am, dear sir,

Yours affectionately, EBEN. HAZARD.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

NEW YORK, August 23, 1790.

MY DEAR SIR, — It was as much as ever I could do to "keep my gravity" yesterday. You must know I was walking across the end of Pearl Street, with one of my neighbours, who is a sensible Connecticut man; has read a great deal, to good advantage; has attended particularly to American publications; and has written some himself. I happened to remark, "This is the oldest street in the city." "Yes," said he, "Nic. Frog chose to keep near Fort." This led to a conversation about something relating to Nic. Frog, which we both had seen in a magazine.* My neighbour said it was written by F. Hopkinson, of Philadelphia. I doubted it. He said we had no writer in America who could do it but him, and he was so sure of his being the author that he would not be afraid to lay his life on it. I replied that I would not be afraid to take up the bet in this case, for I could not see F. H. in the piece, and I thought I knew his style. He asked immediately, "Do you know the writer?" This was a home-stroke; but I parried it by saying I had my *suspicions* about him, and was rather inclined to think the piece came from New England. From my reply and the manner of it, I believe he thought I suspected *him;* and he said there were no writers in New England who could be the author. The most likely were Trumbull, Dr. Hopkins, and one or two more; but it was neither of them. I singled out Trumbull as a man well calculated for the

* This refers to "The Foresters," written by Dr. Belknap, and first published in the Columbian Magazine. — EDS.

author; but he said, "It was not he, it was Francis Hopkinson," and we dropped that subject of conversation, as disputants generally do, each enjoying his own opinion. You may easily conceive how I enjoyed this scene. If angels do not *pity* our infirmities, I suppose they must often have similar enjoyment when they see the innocent errors into which we fall through ignorance, and the honest zeal with which we vindicate them. Have you read your brother Hitchcock's "Domestic Memoirs"?* I am much pleased with them as a system of education, and, in general, I like his style; but I think it is too laboured in some instances, and he has taken an unwarrantable liberty in the use of words. He speaks, for instance, of Miss Rozella's "Flowery." This is the first time I have ever met with "flowery" used as a substantive; perhaps it is a nov-anglicism. A female's "progressive state," and "the time of her advancement," reminded me of *He Biddy*, modestiæ causa, vice *Cock*. These expressions would not be understood except from their connection, any more than Miss Rozella's Flowery. What do you think of the assertion that "Nature nowhere exhibits a right angle"? . . .

But, if I don't take care, I shall commence a snarling critic.

I am vexed at the printer's *Websterian* division of words, when the whole cannot be introduced into the same line; as

bod-
ies.
nec-
essary.
moth-
er, &c.

This is perfectly puppyish.

* Enos Hitchcock, D.D., of Providence, R.I., published in 1790, in two volumes, "Memoirs of the Bloomsgrove Family," a work on education. — Eds.

Winthrop's Diary has appeared at length, which I am glad of, having read it in MS. I have not perused the printed copy, so that I cannot tell whether the editor's assertion, that he has published it "complete," is true. I hope he has omitted the question "an contactus et fricatio," &c., as this would not tend much to edification.

In my last, I hinted at a publication of the Records of the United Colonies. I have thoughts of publishing them in numbers, by subscription. What do you think of it? New England must be depended on for most of the subscribers. I do not recollect whether you have seen my copy; but it is in 2 vols., 4to, written pretty closely, and there are (in both volumes) 640 pages, exclusive of the index.

Seeing no prospect of business here, I am meditating a removal from New York. Where Providence will cast my lot is uncertain, but at present I have my eye on Philadelphia, where money will be more plenty, in consequence of the residence of Congress, than it will in other places, and of course I shall stand a better chance of picking up some. I intend going there soon, to consult my friends on the most eligible line of business, and to make my own remarks on the probability of success. What I have at present in view is to become a dealer in certificates. A friend informed me, t'other day, that the P. M. G. would certainly resign, and seemed to think that would make an opening for me. I told him I would never ask the President for an office again; and, if I should, I could not expect him to give me that, as it would contain an acknowledgment that he had done wrong in giving it to another before. Such acknowledgments are not to be expected from a man whom the waves of flattery have so completely overwhelmed.

Mrs. Hazard and our two youngest children have been a fortnight at Shrewsbury, whither I expect to go the latter end of this week. I shall probably take Master

Sam along with me, stay about a week, and then bring all home. Then for a jaunt to Philadelphia. With love to Mrs. Belknap, I am, dear sir,

Your affectionate EBEN. HAZARD.

P. S. You will have learned, from the newspapers, what was done with the Creek Indians. The treaty made with them seems to me to contain the most rational plan for civilizing and consequently Christianizing them; and I think it an important step towards the fulfilment of Scripture prophecy.

We have lately had a mendicant clergyman here from Virginia, of the name of *Blagrove*, who has been soliciting charity by *singing*, and succeeded. He sung two solo anthems one Sunday, in Trinity Church, and a collection was made for him. Notice had been given in the newspapers that he was to sing, and that a collection was to be made "for a benevolent purpose." Great numbers of people attended, and the sum raised was large. I am told that between the collection, private subscriptions, and a donation from St. George's Society, his Reverence received above £300 in this city. He collected something handsome in Philadelphia, too. What has become of the Virginia spirit, that a clergyman of the Ancient Establishment is reduced to the necessity of begging in other States for money to support his family and pay his debts? You may publish this about the Parson, if you please.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

BOSTON, August 27, 1790.

MY DEAR SIR, — I am very sorry to find, by your last, that you have been disappointed of an office, which I am sure you would have filled with honour and advantage, both to the public and yourself. What can be the reason

Plan of an Antiquarian Society, August, 1790.

A Society to be formed consists of not more than seven at first - for the purpose of collecting, preserving & communicating ~~Historical~~ the Antiquities of America.

Admissions to be made in such manner as the associated shall judge proper. The number of members to be limited -

A President, Recording & Corresponding Secy ~~Secy~~ Treasr Librarian & Cabinet keeper to be appointed

Each Member to pay ~~dollars~~ at his admission & yearly. This latter money to be ~~to be to the purchasing of Books~~ applied to promoting the ~~interests of the~~ objects of the Society.

Each Member on his admission shall engage to use his utmost endeavours to collect & communicate to the society - ~~Lists~~ Manuscripts, printed books & pamphlets, historical facts, biographical anecdotes, observations in natural history, specimens of natural & artificial Curiosities & any other matters wch may elucidate the natural & political history of America from the earliest times to the present day &

Also All communications wch are thought worthy of being preserved shall be ~~printed~~ ~~the multiplication of copies being~~ entered at large in the books of the Society to an index & the originals kept on file.

~~Publications shall be made &c~~

Letters shall be written to Gentlemen in each of the united states requesting them to form similar societies & a correspondence shall be kept up between wm for the purpose of communicating discoveries and improvements to each other

Each Society through the united States shall be desired from time to time to publish such of their communications as they may judge proper, ~~&~~ and all publications shall be made on ~~the same page~~ paper & in pages of y same size y they may be bound together - Each Society so publishing shall be desired to send gratuitously to each of the other Societies ~~one~~ dozen Copies at least of each publication

Quarterly meetings to be held for the purpose of communicating - & in this State the quarterly meetings shall be held on the days next following those ~~established~~ appointed for the meetings of the American Academy of arts & Sciences.

When y Societys funds can afford it Salaries shall be granted to the Secretaries & other Officers -

Persons to compose the first meeting

~~Rev Dr Belknap~~

Wm Tudor Esq

Rev John Eliot

Rev Peter Thacher

James Winthrop Esq

Jere Belknap

Plan of an Antiquarian Society
Aug 1790

of the neglect with which a faithful officer is treated? But I trust all these things will work together for good. They certainly are meant so by him who superintends the universe, and orders all things wisely. I trust you will reap benefit from your misfortunes, and find these light afflictions working out for you a preparation to a nobler reward than any which this world can bestow.

Respecting your History of the United Colonies, I am unable, at present, to form any opinion whether it would be an object of any consequence *to you* to publish it. N. W. has undertaken to print Governour Winthrop's Journal, and has advertised that it will be ready next Monday. We shall see how it takes with the public, and whether it excites an enquiry for other portions of American antiquity. If it should, I think the work in your hands would be an excellent sequel to it.

When Mr. Pintard was here, he strongly urged the forming a Society of American Antiquarians. Several other gent^n. have occasionally spoken to me on the same subject. Yesterday I was in company where it was again mentioned, and it was wished that a beginning could be made. This morning I have written something, and communicated it to the gent^n. who spoke of it yesterday.* How it will issue, time must determine. If it should come to any thing, you shall hear farther. Say nothing of it to Mr. Morse at present, nor to any other person.

I send you a few specimens of the Sandwich Island cloth, fish-hooks, and cordage, made of the fibres of the cocoa-shell. They came in the Columbia. A large collection of the productions of those Islands of the N.W.

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* The paper here referred to is preserved among Dr. Belknap's MSS., in his own handwriting, and is labelled "Plan for an Antiquarian Society, August, 1790." A heliotype copy of it is here given. It was printed in the "Proceedings" for July, 1858. The result of these conferences was the establishment of the Massachusetts Historical Society, which was instituted at a meeting held at the house of William Tudor, Jan. 24, 1791. See letter of Feb. 19, 1791. — Eds.

coast and of China have lately been presented to the Museum, principally by my procuring.

Our worthy Mr. Bowdoin lies dangerously ill of a putrid fever and dysentery. The physicians yesterday entertained some hopes of him. I pray God he may recover.

Mrs. B. joins with me in cordial salutations to yourself, Mrs. Hazard, and the children; and I am, dear sir,

Your very affectionate friend, JERE. BELKNAP.

P. S. The sermons of Mr. Parsons are posthumous. I have seen Mycall, who printed them. He says they are very scarce, and cannot be had under 5 dollars. This I think is an unreasonable price for two 8vo volumes.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

BOSTON, September 14, 1790.

MY DEAR SIR, — If your *positive* neighbour, the Connecticut man, is a person in whom you can repose confidence, and you think he will be gratified by having his mistake corrected, you have my liberty to do it. I shall do nothing with that *tale* at present; but by and bye, when my son Joseph shall come to be a printer, I may possibly finish the work, and let him print it. I have read Bloomsgrove. It is a piece of patchwork, as all the productions of that genius are. He is indebted *much* to Lord Kaimes, and much to other writers. It is, however, as good as can be expected from a man who never had any children to try his theory upon. Bachelors' wives and old maids' children, you know, are always the best educated and best behaved of any in the world. There seems to be a deal said, in the puffing way, about this performance. I join with you in reprobating the new div-is-ions of words, as well as the new mode of spelling recommended

and exemplified in the *fugitiv Essays, ov No-ur Webstur eskwier junier,* critick and coxcomb general of the United States. We are, however, indebted to him for Winthrop's Journal, and I most sincerely wish that it may be followed by the Records of the United Colonyes. I think it probable that some considerable number of subscriptions may be obtained here; and, if you will print proposals, and send me a parcel, I will interest as many friends in the matter as I possibly can, besides making exertions myself.

The extract relative to the mendicant parson has been printed in the Centinel, with some small alteration, — I hope not for the worse.

What if you should get Thomas to print the Records? He has a partner and a press in this town, within a few doors of my house; and, if the book was printed here, I could oversee the work, and take care that it shall not be *so* incorrect as Winthrop's Journal, which is, I think, the worst executed, except one, that ever I saw. N. W. is inexcusable for this, and ought to be ashamed. Thou that teachest another, teachest thou not thyself? is strictly applicable to him.

No more as yet about the Antiquarian Society. The gent^n. who seemed so zealous, as I wrote you, has been ever since overwhelmed with business in the Supreme Court; and I have not once seen him, for I seldom attend courts of any kind.

Yesterday I was consulted on forming a set of inscriptions for a historical pillar, which is erecting on Beacon Hill. Some of the most striking events of the Revolution will be inscribed, beginning with the *Stamp Act* and ending with the *Funding Act.* These comprehend a period of 25 years. The one may be considered as the beginning, and the other as the conclusion, of the American Revolution. The pillar is to be 60 feet high; over its capital, the American eagle, which is to perform the office of a weather-cock. The arrows are to serve for

points, and a conductor is to be added for the lightning. The designer is Mr. Charles Bulfinch, a very ingenious and accomplished gentleman, and as modest as ingenious.*

And so, my friend, you are going back to Philadelphia! I sincerely hope you will be settled; for, to a man with a family, and such a man as you, a roving life cannot be agreeable. If you cannot obtain an appointment, you will recur to the old maxim, —

"In things of moment, *on thyself* depend; "

and I most heartily wish you success in whatever line of business you may determine to engage.

Mrs. B. joins with me in the most sincere regards to yourself and family; and I am, dear sir,

Your affectionate friend, JERE. BELKNAP.

I add, for your amusement and for a laugh among a few friends, a number of articles found in the house of the late Dr. Byles.

Five or six dozen pairs of spectacles, of all powers and all fashions.

Above 20 walking-sticks, of different sizes and contrivances.

About a dozen jest-books.

Several packs of cards, new and clean.

A quantity of whetstones, hones, &c., as much as a man could carry in a bushel basket on his shoulder.

A large number of weights for shops, money scales, &c., some in sets, and some broken.

A large collection of pictures, from Hogarth's cele-

* An account of this Beacon Hill pillar or column, with a copy of the inscriptions on the four tablets placed upon it, may be seen in Dr. Shurtleff's "Topographical and Historical Description of Boston," pp. 174–177. Dr. Shurtleff says: "Hon. Thomas Dawes . . . had the reputation of being the author of these very judicious inscriptions. If he did not write them, it is desirable to know who did." A rude sketch of the monument may be seen in Snow's "History of Boston." — EDS.

brated prints down to the corners of newspapers and pieces of linen.

A large parcel of coins, from Tiberius Cæsar to Massachusetts cents.

A parcel of children's toys, among which two bags of marbles.

A quantity of Tom Thumb books and puerile histories.

About a dozen bird-cages and rat-traps.

A set of gardeners', and ditto of carpenters' tools.

A parcel of speaking-trumpets and hearing-tubes, &c., &c., &c., &c.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

New York, Oct. 3, 1790.

My dear Sir, — Yours of 27th August was old when it came to my hands, owing to the slowness of Mr. Morse's progress; and, as I went with him to Shrewsbury, and spent a week with friends there, I have been prevented from writing to you sooner. I have heard my disappointment, as to the last office I applied for, accounted for thus: Dr. Cochran (the former Loan Officer) is a relation of the Secretary of the Treasury, who would therefore wish to provide for him; and, to effect this, probably recommended that *all* the former Loan Officers should be appointed *commissioners* under the new law. The plan was adopted, and the Doctor of course appointed. He is an eminent physician and a gentleman of character. There is something very remarkable in my case; and I neither hear a reason assigned for it, nor can assign one myself, except the *care of Providence*, of which I have been in an especial manner the subject from my infancy. I was first removed from an office in which I had served the public with zeal and fidelity through the most trying and dangerous periods (indeed, through the whole) of the Revolution, as well as in peace. The public voice, as far

as I have heard it, was in favour of my holding the office; but I was removed. Mr. Jefferson and I were old acquaintances. As soon as he was appointed Secretary of State, or rather as soon as I was acquainted with his arrival in America, I applied to him, by letter, for the appointment of chief clerk in his office. On his arrival here, I waited on him, and he told me the place was engaged before he got my letter. I learned afterwards, in such a way that I have no doubt of the truth of it, that the President had recommended a gentleman to him for that place, in such a manner that he could not refuse to appoint him. Then a friend informed me that the Assistant to the Secretary of the Treasury had resigned. I immediately applied for that place, and, as the Secretary was not at home, left a note in writing, with which I had gone prepared. I did not plumply ask for the place of his assistant; but, the note and circumstances taken together, he could not misunderstand my meaning. I have never had a word from him on the subject since; but the place, which remained empty for some time, was at length filled with as hearty a Tory as Philadelphia produced. My last application was to the President for an appointment as Commissioner of Loans for this State, in which, you know, I failed. The President's treatment of me before was such that I would not have applied now; but, as friends advised to it, and urged it rather warmly, I thought it a duty. For my own part, I had no expectation of success (as I told Mrs. H.), but prosecuted the matter as diligently as if success depended on it, that I might not have to reproach myself with neglect. The issue was as I expected, and proved that the idea held out on my removal from office, that I was to be "otherwise provided for," was farcical and delusive. I assigned above the *care* of Providence as a reason for my being thus neglected. It may appear an extraordinary, but may be a just one; but I verily believe that my

removal from office, and being kept out of business, have been the occasion of removing embarrassments I have laboured under for 20 years, in consequence of the injustice of a person with whom I was in partnership before the war. The creditors have agreed to a compromise, and I have thus got rid of incumbrances which would have crushed me. I can now think seriously of getting into business again. Nothing presents in this city which promises success, and I feel *forced* to Philadelphia, for which place I expect to set out to-morrow, to look about me and consult with friends. I begin to feel now as if I am yet to be useful, and flatter myself there will be some similarity between Joseph's story and mine. Should I settle in Philadelphia, perhaps the typographical spirit of that city may midwife some of my labours into light.

I like Pintard's idea of a Society of American Antiquarians; but where will you find a sufficiency of members of suitable abilities and leisure? Where will jarring interests suffer the Musæum to be kept?

I thank you for the Sandwich Island curiosities. They make a valuable addition to my Farrago. Carey says that you and he, *i.e.* the Company, are at variance, which he very much regrets, and begs that I will try to get you together again. What is the matter? He has not mentioned any of the circumstances of the case; but I suppose I shall hear all at Philadelphia. I suspect the root of all evil is at the bottom of this business.

Parsons's Sermons are abominably high-priced. This is to go by Mr. Morse, who has just returned from Shrewsbury. He can tell you all about us, but nothing more truly than that Mrs. H. and I love you and Mrs. B. very sincerely. Adieu. EBEN. HAZARD.

Perhaps, if you consider how many Cincinnati and other aristocrats are to be provided for, you may be able to account for the distribution of offices in some cases. Can *religion* have any thing to do in the business?

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

[New York], October 4, 1790.

Dear Sir, — Being prevented by a bad cold (which I have had these three weeks) and unsuitable weather from proceeding on my journey to-day, I have received yours of the 14th and 15th ultimo, by Barnard, who told me t'other day he had no letter for me. If my neighbour and I should happen to hit upon the old subject again, and I think it will do any good, I will use the liberty you allow me of telling him who wrote the tale.

Bloomsgrove is, as you observe, a piece of patchwork; but I think his theory may be reduced to practice. "Nevertheless and notwithstanding," it will require more time and more attention than parents who have to look out for a maintenance as well as education for their children can bestow upon it. While I had a regular income, I proceeded upon a similar plan in educating mine, and the good effects of it were visible; but I cannot now devote as much time to *weeding* as I could then. The Memoirs * have been too much puffed; and, by the bye, this is one of the prevailing sins of New England in the present day, with respect to both *characters* and *works*. Even Nour Webstur's *generosity* has had panegyrists; and we have been told how he gave spelling-books to one school and spelling-books to another, and how all his premiums were not given away at the first exhibition. I may be able to write with more certainty about the Records of the United Colonies after I have visited Philadelphia; but at present I am quite undetermined about publishing them. Thomas does not please me as a printer. He charges extravagantly.

I have not seen the extract about the mendicant parson

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* See note on p. 228. — Eds.

in print. Perhaps it appeared in one of the numbers of the Centinel which I have not received. I get them very irregularly. *Apropos*, as I am no longer P. M. G., I have no claim to Mr. Russel's attention in the way of newspapers, and I am too poor to become a subscriber. I therefore wish them to be discontinued, and that my thanks may be given to Mr. Russel for past favours.

Thank you for your offer of correcting the press. Should I print, it will probably be in Philadelphia, where I shall be myself.

Your Historical Column will be an ornamental record. Should not the *arrows* turn with the eagle? If so, how can the conductor be fixed in such a way that they will serve as points for it?

I hope Byles's executors will return a proper inventory into the office. If they do, perhaps we may be gratified with some extracts from it bye and bye, as we have already with those from Dr. Franklin's will. The coins may form a valuable part of your University Musæum.

I have lately been informed of the death of good Dr. Clarkson.* He lived an ornament to the Christian name, and died the death of the righteous. No death has lately happened in which I have felt so great a loss. However, it cannot be many years before we shall be reunited, and the friendship begun on earth will be perfected in heaven.

Mrs. H. joins me in the most sincere regards to yourself and family; and I am, dear sir,

Your affectionate friend, EBEN. HAZARD.

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* Gerardus Clarkson, M.D., an eminent physician of Philadelphia. He is referred to in the earlier part of this correspondence by the name of "Ulysses." He died Sept. 19, 1790, aged fifty-three. — EDS.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

Boston, Dec. 7, 1790.

Dear Sir, — I suppose by this time you are settled in Philadelphia. Pray let me know in what spot. In my last, I desired you to enquire about paper for my History. I think William Young, who prints the Asylum, can give you information; for the paper which he uses for that work is very nearly of the same quality, though rather larger. I wish to know how long credit will be given.

Dr. Rush has written me an excellent letter, giving me an account of the death and character of Dr. Clarkson, of whom he speaks in the most exalted terms as one of the best of men, and to whom he was greatly indebted, especially on a religious account. One of his expressions is, "He was 20 years ahead of me in his attention to the one thing needful." Pray give me an account of the situation in which his family is left; and, when you have an opportunity to write, let Cornelia know of it. She seems fond of corresponding with me, and I am equally pleased with it.

Can you tell me who writes the "Impartial Review" of American publications in the Asylum? N. W. I find is under inquisition, and has some deserved strictures. I believe I should, before now, have let loose my pen against some of his nonsense, had he not connected himself with a family with some branches of which I have a very agreeable connection.

We have had an exhibition in this town, of a singular nature. A Monsieur L'Arive,* from Guadaloupe, died here about a month ago. At the time of his death, M^r. Rouselet, the French priest, was absent on a visit to the Indians of Pennobscot, and the French here do not approve of Abbé Thayer, so they got Dr. Parker to read the *Protestant* Church service at his funeral. When Rouse-

* See "Columbian Centinel," Nov. 10, 1790, where the name is spelled "Larine." — Eds.

let came home, he persuaded the widow to let him perform a *requiem*, after the Roman model. For this purpose, they obtained leave of Dr. P. and his vestry to use his church. Accordingly, last Thursday, Trinity Church was decorated with the insignia of popish *idolatry*, in the chancel, directly under the 2d commandment; and, after the Mass was said, a sermon followed, the whole composing as complete a farce as can well be conceived. The more they expose their religion to public shew, the more its absurdities appear; and it is become an object of ridicule even to our children. You know how much stress they lay on the argument from *the unity* of their church. Their conduct here is a most brilliant comment on this argument, for the French and Irish papists cannot meet in the same place without quarrelling. Once the peace officers were called in to prevent them from coming to blows. Such is the unity of the Catholic Church in Boston.

If you please, you may give the above paragraph to Fenno; but I do not want to have it known that I wrote it.

Our best regards to Mrs. Hazard. Tell her that the vessel which went to Malaga for raisins did not arrive till the day after Thanksgiving. But we shall have plenty of plumb pudding and mince pies for Christmas.

Yours affectionately, JERE. BELKNAP.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

PHILADELPHIA, January 14, 1791.

DEAR SIR, — Few things have occurred more frequently, to my remembrance, than that I had several of your letters unanswered; and yet so it has happened from various causes that I am still your debtor. I feel ashamed of it, and yet I do not feel *guilty*. Should the jealousy

of friendship lead you to remark, "He wrote to Mr. Morse, why could he not have written to me?" let its clamors be silenced by the recollection that I wrote to Mr. Morse *by post.* Removing from New York, sickness in my family, engaging in a new business, entering into a partnership, are among the causes of my silence. But enough of this.

I desired Mr. Morse to inform you that paper was not to be had here, unless bespoke some time beforehand, and that *good* paper cannot be made in the winter. From these circumstances, I think it will not be possible to get what you want made so soon as *April.* If a later time will do, and you wish to have the paper bespoke, let me know, and it shall be done. There is very little prospect of getting it from New York, as most of the printing paper used there is manufactured in this State.

Since writing the above, I have been home to dinner (for you must know we keep our office in Market Street), and while there received yours of the 5th inst., from which I apprehend Mr. Morse had not then delivered the message. However, I shall go on with your other letters.

You ask me if an Antiquarian Society cannot be established here. Perhaps it might, and perhaps the thing might be considered as falling within the Philosophical Society's department. I can hardly judge of it, for my pursuits and engagements are necessarily so very different now from what they were formerly, that I cannot even visit a man of science, as such. How came you to scandalize Mr. T. A. so much as to say, "He is the son of *Hewes and* Anthony"?

Yes, I am seated in Philadelphia, but not so conveniently as I could wish. My dwelling-house is No. 128 in Second, between Race and Vine Streets, and our office is No. 173 in Market Street. I have entered into partnership with Mr. Jonas Addoms, whom you probably know. We have had as much business, for the time, as we had

any right to expect; but I have not made enough to pay my expences since I came here. However, business increases; and I hope it will ultimately prove better than the post-office.

Dr. Rush has not written in too exalted terms of Dr. Clarkson; for, though his attachment to him was strong, the Doctor's merit was equally great. It is thought his estate will not do much more than pay his debts. It was thought adviseable for the family to separate, and that the furniture should be sold. Good Mrs. Finley, who has long been ripe for heaven, now lives with her brother, Alderman Clarkson. Cornelia and Becky live with their brother, the doctor; and the rest of the family, with the other married son, Joseph, an Episcopal clergyman.

I am told the writers of the "Impartial Review," in the Asylum, are Europeans, some of the masters in the College, but do not know whether my information may be depended on. N. W. deserved a lashing, and I think he has had it. His whippers mistook in using "*miserified*," as the contrary of "*happified;*" for "*miserified*" is *all* Latin, whereas only one-half of *happified* is such. *Miserablefied* would have been a better word for their purpose.

Mons. L'Arive must have been well buried, as both Protestants and Papists had an hand in the business. I think St. Peter will be very civil to Dr Parker when he goes "at Heaven's gate to rap." Fenno and I both thought it not adviseable to publish the story here, where the Papists are numerous and respectable. The best way to destroy Popery in the country will be to let it alone.

Yes, my friend, I will cheerfully undertake the office of collector and banker for you; and, as such, I have this day received 30½ dollars from Mr. Wingate for you. One of your subscription papers hangs up in our office, but there is no name to it yet except my own. By "stitched in blue" do you mean what the binders commonly mean by that, or in boards?

Yours of 5th inst. is answered above. . . . Mrs. H. and family are well. With best respects to Mrs. Belknap, I am, dear sir,

Yours, EBEN. HAZARD.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

BOSTON, February 19, 1791.

MY DEAR SIR, — Your favour of the 14 January is come to hand; and though I have written you one letter since you sent me that, yet I think I cannot be too explicit upon the subject of my paper, especially as you say in yours, "If you wish to have it bespoke, let me know, and it shall be done." I do wish it, and not only so, but depend upon it. If it can be had as soon as April, or sooner, in any small quantity, please to send what you can, and let the rest be engaged to be delivered as soon as it can be made. I can get no *such* paper here as I have promised in my proposal, any sooner than I can have it from Philadelphia, and must give 1*s.* in a rheam more, besides. You mention 30½ dollars paid you by Mr. Wingate. I desired Dr. Rush and Mr. Ames to put what they might collect into your hands. I gave a subscription paper to Thomas Anthony (the son of that Anthony who is, or was lately, partner to Hewes). If you should see him, I will thank you for asking him whether he has done any thing for me; and though I told him to send any money which he might collect to Mr. Miller of this town, yet, if he gives it to you, it will be as well. If he should think a line from me necessary, I will add one to the end of this paper. As you are in the speculating way, perhaps you may be able to make some small gain of this advance money before it will be wanted for the paper. This I leave entirely to your judgment. I wish you much success in your new business. It would please

me and yourself better if it would admit of some attention to matters of science; but we must conform to our circumstances, and endure trials. *Moral* improvement is not inconsistent with a close attention to business. I hope the time will come when you will be able to devote some time also to scientific pursuits, that the world may not lose the benefit of your former labours in this way.

We have now formed our Society; and it is dubbed, not the Antiquarian, but the "Historical Society." * It consists at present of only 8, and is limited to 25.† We intend to be an *active,* not a *passive,* literary body; not to lie waiting, like a bed of oysters, for the tide (of communication) to flow in upon us, but to *seek* and *find,* to *preserve* and *communicate* literary intelligence, especially in the historical way. We are not, however, quite ripe for action. Will it suit you to be a corresponding member? If you say yes, I will propose you.‡

My family is at present well, and we all send our love. Sister Morse was here a-visiting last Monday. She was in good spirits. . . . Adieu.

Yours affectionately, JEREMY BELKNAP.

My kind regards to Dr. Clarkson's family. Can you tell whether William Spotswood is in Philadelphia, or where he is?

P. S. You have not told me whether you have advertised my proposals, nor to whom you have given the other papers which I enclosed to you.

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* See note on p. 231. — EDS.

† But eight only were present when the Society was instituted, Jan. 24, 1791; but two who were absent were considered as present and associating. See Soc. Proceedings for July, 1858, p. 110. In the Constitution of the Society, adopted at its first meeting, the number of Resident Members is limited to *thirty,* and the number of Corresponding Members is also limited to *thirty.* — EDS.

‡ See p. 297, note. — EDS.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

PHILADELPHIA, March 1, 1791.

MY DEAR SIR, — I pity your patience, for I fear it has had a severe trial. Mine has sympathized with it; for, after numerous repeated and fruitless attempts to procure you paper, I was reduced almost to despair. At length I tried to find the *maker* of what you had before, and succeeded.

I wrote to him, and he has just been with me. He asks 3 dollars per rheam, which I think is high. He says he had 21*s*. for the 1st volume, and that the increased demand for paper has raised the price of rags, so that he cannot afford it so low now as he did then. I got him to agree to supply me at 22*s*., and engaged 65 rheams, which he is to deliver in six weeks, but will let me have a part sooner, and I have become bound to pay him the money as the paper is delivered. Thirty and a half dollars I received from Mr. Wingate. The rest I must depend on you for. Mr. Ames will probably pay me something. I engaged only 65 rheams, because I did not know how the price would suit you; but, if you choose to have as much more, it can be made hereafter.

My collection is likely to go to press at last. Proposals are published, and I feel a little flattered by their reception. If you feel the *cacoethes scribendi*, after they have made their public appearance with you, perhaps a little puff in the newspaper or Magazine, or both, about the utility and importance of the collection, &c., &c., may help it along.

I have had very sore eyes for some time past, and writing this letter has almost blinded me. Jonas joins me in respects for Mrs. B., he says, "and the young ladies." I am, dear sir,

Your friend, EBEN. HAZARD.

P. S. Neither the Horizontal Mill, nor Jenkins's plan of teaching writing, is new. I saw both above 20 years ago.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

Boston, March 18, 1791.

My dear Sir, — Your favour of 1st inst. came to hand yesterday, and I thank you for your kindness and pains in endeavouring to procure me paper. Though the price is 2*s*. your currency more than I was led to expect from your letter to Mr. Morse, yet, as it cannot be had for less, I am content. I could have had paper made here for 17*s*. our currency, which, it was said, would be as good as that on which my 1st Volume was printed; but I could not be certain of that. Now I can say it is made by the same man, and I shall feel a satisfaction in being able to comply with my engagement in the proposal.

Mr. Wingate was here yesterday. He says Mr. Ames left Philadelphia before him. I am sorry he did not call on you, but I shall see him here. I shall procure you a bill for 150 dollars as soon as possible, which, with what you have in hand, and what you will probably receive at Philadelphia, will pay for the paper you have engaged. Dr. Rush writes that he left his subscription paper with Thomas Dobson. Mr Thomas also sent him one. If he has received any cash by way of advance, the enclosed order will, I suppose, be a sufficient authority for him to pay it to you. Thomas sent another to Pritchard. You shall also have an order on him. If you think they have collected as many subscriptions as there is reason to expect, please to desire them to return the papers to Mr. Thomas, at Worcester: if not, let them keep them longer. I must have a return of *names*, because I think to print them in the 3d volume.

As it is necessary that both volumes should be printed on the same kind of paper, you will be so good as to engage 65 rheams more, to be made as soon as possible. I will take care to supply you with money as fast as I can, that you may not be in advance for me, nor in debt on my account. The Assembly of New Hampshire, at their late session, made me a grant of £50, as an encouragement to my work.* I expect to go to Exeter in about a fortnight or three weeks, to finish my compilation. I shall then probably receive the money. As I may be absent at the time of the arrival of the first parcel of paper, please to direct it to the care of Messrs. James and Thomas Lamb, merchants in State Street.

I am very glad to find that you have at last ventured on the printing of your collection. It will be voluminous; and the price, though reasonable enough considering the quantity of matter, will be rather above the reach of such persons as commonly subscribe for new books. I shall give one of the papers to a young man in this town, who is an *enthusiast* for antiquity, and has procured more subscriptions for me than any other person: the other I shall keep. The *puff* shall be attended to. Yesterday began drawing the State Lottery. The mania is coming to a crisis. I expect to see many wry faces before it is over.

Mrs. Belknap joins in the kindest regards to Mrs. Hazard and yourself. I am, dear sir,

Your obliged friend and servant,

JERE. BELKNAP.

Our compliments, not excepting the young ladies, to Jonas.

Brother Morse had a very ill turn last Sabbath, and could not preach in the P.M. I have not heard from him since Monday.

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* See N. H. Hist. Soc. Coll., I. p. 286. — EDS.

Boston, March 18, 1791.

Mr. Thomas Dobson, — I understand that Mr. Thomas, of Worcester, and Dr. Rush, of Philadelphia, have put into your hands subscription papers for my History of New Hampshire. If you have received any cash by way of advance, please to pay it into the hands of Ebenezer Hazard, Esq., and you will much oblige your humble servant,

Jeremy Belknap.

Boston, March 18, 1791.

Mr. Pritchard, — By my desire, Mr. Thomas, of Worcester, sent you a subscription paper for my History of New Hampshire. If you have been so successful as to receive any cash in advance, please to pay it into the hands of Ebenezer Hazard, Esq., and you will oblige

Your humble servant, Jeremy Belknap.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

Philadelphia, March 26, 1791.

My dear Sir, — I was in hopes I should have had some paper to send you by a vessel which I expect will sail to-morrow; but none is yet come to hand. Perhaps my impatience, excited by yours, leads me to expect it too soon. When it comes to hand, no opportunity of forwarding it shall be lost. Mr. Anthony tells me he has not got any subscribers yet, and I am sorry to say I have been equally unsuccessful. New Hampshire is considered here (however improperly) not only as a distant, but an unimportant State; and people will not subscribe for its history, though numbers would doubtless purchase it, if published.

My subscription goes on very well for the time. There

are near 100 subscribers in this city (including members of Congress), so that I think I may hope for 500 throughout the Union by May, and in that case I shall begin to print about the 1st June. Presuming on this, I have ordered paper to be made, for which I shall have to advance upwards of £300; so that you see I am growing very serious.

My family are well. My eyes are yet sore. With love to Mrs. Belknap and family, I am, dear sir,

Yours, EBEN. HAZARD.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

PHILADELPHIA, April 14, 1791.

MY DEAR SIR, — Your favours of the 10th and 18th ultimo came to hand together. I have made some enquiry about the map, but cannot yet find a good engraver who is disengaged. Dobson keeps them hard at work, and I cannot get them to say what they *suppose* such a plate will cost. Scott and Thackara and Vallance are our best hands, but they are retained by Dobson.

The paper, I think, will please both you and your subscribers. I have 25 rheams packed up in a box, waiting for a conveyance. A vessel sailed some days ago, by which I should have sent it; but she was from England, and, had the captain taken it, he would have had to make a new entry at the custom-house, at the expence of 10 dollars, which he would expect you to pay, besides the freight. I thought it better to wait for a coaster which is expected soon.

Neither Mr. Dobson nor Mr. Pritchard have received any cash in advance: the latter seems a little offended in not being mentioned in your proposals as a receiver of subscriptions. He is going to remove to Virginia.

I have told the paper-maker that we shall want 65 rheams more. He will probably begin it as soon as he has completed the first parcel, which will be shortly.

So the Assembly of New Hampshire have done something for you at last. Better late than never, but they should have done more long ago.

From the nature of my work, I cannot expect a large list of subscribers: 500 will satisfy me, but I fear I shall not reach that number.

Your *mania* reached this city. Jonas and I sold 500 of the semi-annual lottery tickets; and, had we had them, I suppose we could have sold 1,000. Their punctuality in drawing at the time appointed has given your managers great reputation here. We think it will be worth their while to send us a parcel in the next lottery, to dispose of on the same commissions as they allow to others.

We are very sorry to hear of Mr. Morse's late indisposition. Such violent attacks, so frequently repeated, are alarming. We feel anxious on *ma'am's* account, too. Do let us hear as soon as any change of situation takes place.

Yours of the 2d inst. has arrived safely, with the bill on Hewes & Anthony for 150 dollars, which is accepted, and will doubtless be paid. Mrs. Hazard and family are well. Letters from our Shrewsbury friends, received to-day, inform us they are so, too. We expect them here soon. Love to Mrs. Belknap and family.

Vive valeque. EBEN. HAZARD.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

PHILADELPHIA, April 26, 1791.

MY DEAR SIR, — I now send you by the *Maria*, Captain Hopkins, a box as per enclosed receipt. You have

also a bill of cost of paper and charges. This box, which contains 25 rheams, has been lying ready some time for a conveyance. I have this morning received and paid for 25 rheams more, but the vessel will sail so soon that I cannot have a box made and put it on board in season. You will receive it by a vessel which will sail about a week hence. The paper-maker tells me I shall have 25 rheams more in a fortnight, so that I think we shall keep your printer at work. Please to return my Vermont pamphlets as soon as you have done with them, as I shall want them bye and bye.

Mr. and Mrs. Breese are in town, and Abby. They are all well, and with my Rib join me in love to Mrs. Belknap and yourself. The Judge wants another *laugh* very much; that is, he *did*. I doubt his being in a laughing humour now, as I have kept him waiting rather long for his dinner. Love to brother and sister Morse. We hope all is well.

Your affectionate

EBEN. HAZARD.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

BOSTON, 27th April, 1791.

MY DEAR SIR, — Though I have written to you so lately by the post, yet I cannot omit this private opportunity, by Mr. John Codman, a worthy and respectable merchant of this place, especially as I can by him send you some cash to fulfil your engagements respecting my paper. I shall request him to pay you 165 dollars; which, I suppose, added to what you already have, will nearly pay the whole. The balance, whatever it be, we can settle when your account comes to hand.

I have nothing new to tell you respecting brother Morse. We have Dr. Witherspoon in town. He has

been once at my house, and I expect to dine in company with him this day. I am, dear sir,

Your obliged friend and humble servant,

JERE. BELKNAP.

I have the pleasure to assure you that Mr. Thomas Wallcutt, a genuine antiquarian and a very friendly man,* has procured you 20 subscriptions, and hopes to do more. He will be pleased by your taking notice of his services. I had not seen his list when I wrote on Saturday evening.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

BOSTON, 29th April, 1791.

MY DEAR SIR, — I wrote to you the beginning of this week, and sent you 165 dollars by Mr. John Codman: possibly this may arrive before him. This day I have contracted with an engraver for the engraving and printing my map. He has recommended to me the procuring some paper of the same kind as that on which the plates of Dobson's Encyclopædia are printed, and, upon inspection, I approve his judgment. I must therefore ask this farther favour of you: to enquire whether that paper is made in your State, and, if it is, to engage 2 rheams of the size of the largest demi. My plate will be 16 inches long and 11½ wide. There ought to be a margin of half an inch, beside; and I think that size will do to print one map on each half-sheet. If the paper is not made in Pennsylvania, or not to be procured there, be so good as to get me *one sheet*, which may serve as a specimen to our paper-makers, and I will endeavour to have some made as nearly

* One of the members of the Massachusetts Historical Society at its institution in January, 1791. He was the first Recording Secretary, and wrote a better record hand than either of his successors. — EDS.

like it as *possible*. Let me know, as soon as you can, what to depend upon.

If the Monmouth Judge is with you, congratulate him on the birth of a grandson. The young gentleman made his first *visible* appearance the day before yesterday. This afternoon Mrs. B. and myself have had the pleasure of seeing him, and next Sunday he is to be loaded with names, not quite so many as the Spanish ambassador who signed the Treaty of Peace in 1783, but *only four;* viz., Samuel Finley Breese Morse. They intend to go through the catalogue at once, which I think is very ill policy, considering their age. However, they must please themselves, and in so doing I hope they will please their friends. Madam is very well, and in good spirits; and the father is as well pleased as a man can be in such circumstances.

As to the child, I saw him asleep, so can say nothing of his eye, or his genius peeping through it. He may have the sagacity of a Jewish Rabbi, or the profoundity of a Calvin, or the sublimity of a Homer, for aught I know; but time will bring forth all things.*

Tell the Squire, also (with my best compliments to himself and lady and Miss Susan), that our Committee is gone with a mathematician to survey the ground for the Sandwhich Canal; and, if that perforation should be made through Cape Cod, I shall expect to see his Honour and lady come to Boston in a Shrewsbury boat. It will be no more than river sailing all the way: through Long Island Sound, up Buzzard's Bay, and through the Canal, and they will be at Boston in a trice. I seriously hope that the grandson will attract them; and, when they come, we will endeavour to entertain them to the best of our ability; and, if you and Mrs. Hazard will add yourselves

* The child whose birth is here recorded became in after years celebrated for attainments in science and art; and for his discoveries connected with electric-telegraphy his fame has become universal. — Eds.

to the party, it will be 100 per cent more agreeable. Our love to her and your children. I am, dear sir,

Yours affectionately, JERE. BELKNAP.

Sunday evening, May 1.

This A.M. I changed with Mr. Morse. Both mother and child are well. I told him I should write to you an account of this event. He therefore defers writing himself till a private opportunity.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

PHILADELPHIA, May 6, 1791.

MY DEAR SIR, — I have received yours of 23d ultimo. The money for the bill was punctually paid, and (as I informed you in my last I should) I now send you another box of 25 rheams of paper, by the Ceres, which I wish safe to hand. Thank you for what you have done about my collection, and am sorry your success has not been equal to your exertions. My prospects are by no means flattering, yet Dobson persuades me to go on.* He says *he* begun the Encyclopædia with 250 subscribers, and adds that works of that kind *procure* subscribers in their progress. People wish to see what sort of works they are. Perhaps he may be right, but I confess I feel a little skittish. £1,500 is a serious sum.

I am pleased that your subscription list encreases so fast; but will you do right to print a smaller number than at first? It is probable that many may incline to have the books whom it does not suit to *advance* money. I hope you will not ultimately be disappointed about your son's types.

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* Hazard's historical papers, which, during the first part of this correspondence, he was engaged in collecting, were finally printed (at least a part of them) by T. Dobson, of Philadelphia, in two vols. 4to, 1792 and 1794, entitled "Historical Collections," &c. — EDS.

Lotteries are an evil that will cure themselves. They are pernicious.

The printer attended to the puff. So have others. Cornelia is married to a Mr. Snowdon, a farmer, a pious young man of property, who lives near Princeton, in New Jersey. They were married the beginning of February, with the approbation of friends on both sides; and the match promises mutual happiness.

I will speak to the paper-maker to know if it will be any injury to him if I take but 55 reams instead of 65. If it will, I must take the latter, as I have bespoke them, and I suppose they are begun. Otherwise, I will take but 55, as you desire. His name is Frederick Beeking. I forget the place where his mill is situated; but I think it is Lower Merion, about 12 miles from the city.

The Monmouth Judge, his lady, and *Abby* were here lately. They desired to be remembered to you, when I should write. They have sold their house at New York, and have gone there to execute the deeds.

Mrs. H. cordially salutes yourself and Mrs. Belknap; so does your friend,

EBEN. HAZARD.

P. S. Trenchard has your map, to make an estimate of cost, and has not returned it yet.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

BOSTON, 16 May, 1791.

MY DEAR SIR, — Two boxes of paper have come safe to hand, accompanied by two letters. The paper is pronounced good, and I think rather better than that on which the 1st volume was printed. I find that my son knows Beeking, and has been at his house on business for his old master Robert. My printing is begun, and Jo does

the work at Thomas and Andrews's office. The first sheet is now working off. We have an account that Captain Davis (on board of whom I suppose Jo's types were) is wrecked on one of the Islands of Guernsey, Alderney or Sark, and that part of the cargo is saved. The disappointment is rather mortifying to my son, but "it is good for a man to bear the yoke in his youth." I suppose the property is insured in London, and that the *final loss* will be only the premium, which must be repeated on a reshipment.

But it would divert you to hear some of our merchants, men of large property and independent fortunes, talk of their *losses*, and of being *ruined* by the non-arrival of Davis and Scot; for the latter is missing, and supposed also to be lost. If a man owns £10,000, and is disappointed in his expectation of adding 1 or 2,000 to it in the course of a year, he proclaims his *losses* to the world with a loud voice, the only meaning of which is that he has *failed of getting more;* and perhaps the whole is insured, *capital and profits.*

When you wrote last, you had not received the letter announcing the entrance of the *young geographer* on the stage of action. Never were parents better pleased with their first essay at procreation. All continues well there. I am sorry the Monmouth Judge was gone before the arrival of my letter; but I hope you have sent the account of it after him.

So my little Cornelia is become a wife! and has got a husband endowed with qualities "profitable for the life *which now is* and for that *which is to come*," — *piety and property.* I rejoice in her happiness: when you have an opportunity, please to present my sincere congratulations to her.

Pray tell me whether or not Dr. Samuel Magaw is dead. I said, in company with Dr. Witherspoon, that he was: the Doctor seemed to know nothing of it, and did not be-

lieve it. If I remember right, he died of the influenza, about a year ago.

I have agreed with a Mr. Hill to engrave my map. I am to give him 30 dollars for the plate and the engraving, and 1 dollar per hundred for printing; and I am to find the paper. I was induced to make this bargain by receiving from you an account that all your best engravers were engaged, and could not do it. What *Trenchard's* terms may be, I cannot say; but this I know, from former experience, — that he is a very careless fellow, and I am not fond of having any connexion with him. Pray make him *return* the map to you. Is William Spotswood in Philadelphia? He is the best of your printers with whom I have had any connexion. Your Vermont pamphlets I cannot *yet* spare, but you shall have them in due season for your use. I have met with much difficulty in getting a clue to unravel the mysteries of that combination. Some of the principal actors *will* not inform me, but *litera scripta manet.* I have found, in the Secretary's office at Exeter, papers which have helped me; and I have received from President Washington a copy of a letter which he wrote them in the war time, which I could not get from those to whom it was written. I shall reduce the story to a very few pages, but those few pages have cost me much labour and contrivance. I mean to obtain the requisite information.

As to your publication, it is a risque; and there is a necessity for a risque in all such cases. People say here, "Why does not Mr. H. publish *an history* rather than *the materials for history?*" This is a very natural question with a certain class, who think it as easy a thing to write a history as to read it after it is written. I suppose a regular history of the United States would be a more popular and profitable work than such a collection, but it would cost you *years* of labour. Should you feel discouraged about the publication in its present form, what if you

should *begin in earnest* to put your materials into order, and propose to publish it by numbers? However, I would not give up the idea, at present, of going on as you have proposed, though "£1,500 is indeed a serious sum."

If Beeking will not let me have less than the first number of rheams, why then I must take them. They will come in play by and by; but you must get him to give me a little credit, for I feel almost exhausted. I have a press and cases, and a number of *et ceteras* to pay for, though I have *no types*. Eight hundred copies are contracted for. I am persuaded there are many, perhaps 200, of the 1st volume, either lost or fallen into such hands as will care nothing about the remaining volumes. I have no objection to receiving subscriptions *without* the advance; but, had I not *asked* for the dollar, I should not have been able to pay for the paper.

As I intend to print a list of subscribers, I beg you will return me the names of such *few* as you have.

Mrs. B. joins in best regards to you and yours, with, dear sir,

Your sincere and obliged friend and humble servant,

JERE. BELKNAP.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

PHILADELPHIA, May 27, 1791.

MY DEAR SIR, — Your favour of 29th ultimo gave us great satisfaction, as it informed of an addition to our friend Morse's family and happiness, and that ma'am was, &c. The Judge and lady were at New York and received the news there.

The paper for Dobson's plates is made in this State, but comes high, and D. says is not fit for your purpose. Being too thick to fold in an 8vo, it will cut. He and I, upon reasoning on the case, judged it would be best to advise you to folio post, of a middling thickness, as the

best, and not very expensive. This you may get at Boston, and save expence of freight and risque.

From Jedediah's loading his first-born with names, I suspect his hopes of a numerous progeny are faint. Admitting this to be the fact, pray why may not Belknap and Hazard have been added to the young gentleman's *nominal* honours? If we choose it, we have a right to be affronted; for, as friends, we should have been thought of.

I have received 165 dollars by Mr. Codman. No more paper yet come to hand.

So you have had Dr. Witherspoon with you. He is going to give a new proof of the truth of Solomon's remark, that great men are not always wise, by marrying a widow of 27 with one child. I am told he was called off in the Seceder Church last Sunday. Our General Assembly (ecclesiastical) has been sitting here. One of the members lodged at my house. He married a woman two years older than his mother. Now I think it will be no bad plan for the Doctor and him to exchange wives. I suspect the old gentleman means to try the effects of "animal magnetism," about which there have lately been some curious publications in Fenno's paper.

I am happy to hear of Mr. Walcutt's success, and shall duly notice his services when I publish. I expect to begin in July.

Love to Mrs. B.

Yours affectionately, EBEN. HAZARD.

P. S. All well. I have suggested to our General Assembly the propriety of collecting materials for an history of the Presbyterian Church in the United States. The idea is approved, and the business will be prosecuted.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

PHILADELPHIA, June 6, 1791.

MY DEAR SIR, — Since my last, I have received yours of 16th ultimo, and am happy to find that the two boxes of paper got safe to Boston, and that the paper is approved of. Beeking has the character of an honest man and a good workman, and, I believe, deserves it. Josey must know him. So your printing is begun. Try to put Jo a little on his mettle, and let him aim at equalling the 1st volume in goodness of workmanship: it will be of great advantage to him to *begin well.* The loss of his types must be very mortifying; but, although the book is printed at Thomas's office, I suppose Jo will put his own imprint to it, so that he will still be known as the operator.

You have a just idea of mercantile *losses.* What you say upon that subject reminds me of a conversation I once had with an eminent merchant of New York. He had bought an unruled blank-book of me, and ordered me to get it ruled. When it was done, he would not pay for the ruling. I told him I had paid for it, and, if he would not, I should lose money by the book. "Don't tell me of losing," said he: "I understand losses as well as you do. There are two kinds of them, positive and negative. A positive loss is when a man does not sell a commodity for as much as it cost him; a negative, when he gets a profit, but not so great an one as if the purchaser had allowed him the full price he asked. Your loss is of this kind."

You were misinformed about Dr. Samuel Magaw. He is not dead, nor more likely to die than anybody else.

I think the terms on which Mr. Hill offers you a plate for your map, if he will do it well, [quite reasonable]. The plate must be extremely well polished, or it will be impossible to take a *clean* impression from it. In this respect,

most of the New England plates which I have seen are deficient. Trenchard has repeatedly promised to let me know his terms, and return the map, but has done neither yet. I have several times called at his lodgings without being able to see him. As I have heard nothing of William Spotswood, I suspect he has removed from this city.

I do not yet receive returns from persons appointed to receive subscriptions for me, so that I cannot tell what my prospect is; but I am rather inclined to think I shall risque the publication. As to publishing *an history*, that is absolutely out of the question; for, had I abilities, I have not leisure to write one. But, *inter nos*, I think materials such as mine will, of themselves, form the best history that can be published, as they will furnish facts free from the glosses of commentators.

Beeking will let you have the quantity of paper you proposed.

My own name is the only one subscribed to your proposals in my hands.

This letter is to be handed you by the Rev. Mr. Green (Dr. Sproat's colleague), whom we Presbyterians call the best preacher in the city. He is one of my ministers, and I take the liberty of recommending him to your friendly and polite attentions. You will be pleased with him.

I had almost forgotten to tell you that all this time I have been writing with both feet wrapped in wool and flannel. You will think this fit of the gout cannot be very severe, or I would have thought of it sooner. It is not; and yet now and then I have an excruciating twinge, which makes me almost forget every thing else. This is the third day of my confinement. Time must determine how many more there are to be.

Mrs. H. and family are well. She proposed setting out for Shrewsbury next Friday, but I fear my gout will prevent her. She joins in love to Mrs. B. and yourself, with

Your friend, EBEN. HAZARD.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

Boston, June 11, 1791.

Dear Sir, — My son's types are at last come to hand, and I expect his press in a few days; and now I do not care *how soon* the rest of the paper is sent. I have engaged paper for the engraving, of a crown size, which will leave a good margin to be sewed into the back of the book, and to be cut at the edges. The printing of my second volume is advanced as far as letter L, which is about one-third; and, if Jo should begin the third before the second is finished, I shall have enough to do to attend two presses at once, besides all my other employments.

This week Mr. Walcutt shewed me his list of subscriptions: they amount to 30. My name is among them; and I shall give you 2 sets of my work, bound (if you choose to have them so), in lieu of one set of yours, in numbers. Printing seems at present to go on briskly: the paper-makers have full employment, and there is scarcely a journeyman printer to be had.

Our friend Morse and family were well the day before yesterday.

Mr. Jefferson, they say, is gone to Lake Champlain: I suppose to try his pendulum at the 45th degree of latitude. Is it not somewhat remarkable that the northern boundary of the United States should be that precise point which is to regulate the weights and measures of all mankind?

Bishop Carrol is here yet, and I assure you is treated with the greatest attention and respect by most of our distinguished characters; but the cause which he means to serve is not the foundation of this respect: it is wholly owing to his personal character.

I have kept this letter open till this day, June 16th; but nothing occurs to be added. There seems to be a resort

of *pilgrims* to Philadelphia, I suppose attracted by the charms of the bank. This will go by one, and *he* is one of my flock, a very sensible, clever fellow, who has been once to China, and intends the circumnavigation of our planet very soon. His name is Perkins, a mercantile character. I do not know that he will *need* any civilities; but, if he should fall in your way, you cannot oblige me more than by noticing him as my friend. In a few days, I expect one of my *brethren*, Everett, will go on the same pilgrimage; and I shall give him a letter to you, because he will be a stranger in Philadelphia, and because he is a worthy, sensible, literary character, with whom you cannot but be pleased.*

I saw brother Morse to-day, and all is well there. I am, dear sir,

Your most obliged and obedient

JEREMY BELKNAP.

I suppose you have heard that Dr. Stevens is dead?

Brother Buckminster has, on *that* occasion, fallen into the lowest depths of the hypochondria. Alas! alas!

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

PHILADELPHIA, July 5, 1791.

DEAR SIR, — I congratulate you upon the arrival of your son's types. The paper-maker left me about a quarter of an hour before I received your letter containing the information, having brought me 25 reams more, which I now send by the Ceres. The crown paper will be of a good size for your maps. *Apropos*, I have at length, and not 'til very lately, got your map out of Trenchard's hands. He kept it so long, notwithstanding repeated promises to return it at different times, that I began to

* Probably the Rev. Oliver Everett, pastor of the New South Church. — EDS.

suspect sinister views, and finally grew angry. My paper is expected this week. It is to be made by Mr. Shitz, and I expect will be very good. I am much obliged to Mr. Walcutt for his assiduity. Please to ask Thomas and Andrews what they have done. But few returns are made me yet, and the whole amount of subscriptions I am acquainted with does not exceed 150! Thank you for your name. I shall put that in the list of *friends*, and not of subscribers.

If our weights and measures are to be regulated by Mr. Jefferson's pendulum, I hope it has vibrated well at the 45th degree of latitude.

Bishop Carrol is a gentleman of very respectable character; but it seems strange that a man of sense should be so zealous in the cause of nonsense. There has been a great resort of *pilgrims* here, attracted, as you supposed, by the charms of the bank. The subscription was opened yesterday, and *filled* (and overflowed) *in two hours*, — yes, in *two hours*. Let Europe produce a similar instance. Many intended subscribers are disappointed and mortified. I was at the bank-door some time before it was opened, and, even when I went, could not get on the steps for the crowd. As soon as the door was opened, we rushed in like a torrent, and were *squeezed* quite as much as we wished for. Names were given in for 4,000 shares more than the bank consists of. Your brother Everett will be able to tell you all about it. He preached for us last Sabbath morning, a sensible, judicious sermon, but it was not much relished by some among us. It wanted faith, repentance, or brimstone, — I don't know which.

I had heard of Dr. Stephens's death, and am sorry to find it has such an effect on our friend Buckminster's spirits. We are all well now, but I have lately had a three weeks' confinement with the gout. I cannot yet wear my common shoes; and yet, in this condition, I ventured among the bank-mad crowd yesterday. Do not call

me mad. I was obliged to do it; for friends at a distance had appointed me their attorney, and, had I not gone to subscribe, their interests must have suffered. I am, dear sir, Your friend, EBEN. HAZARD.

P. S. The carpenter charges 9*s*. for this box. He says *stuff* has raised in price.

The Eulogiums on Governour Bowdoin came safe to hand. Dr. Rush has his.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

BOSTON, July 13, 1791, 11 o'clock.

DEAR SIR, — The box by Cheeseman this moment passed my door on its way to Thomas's office, and your very agreeable letter of the 5th inst. was given me by the truckman.

We have heard of the surprizing phenomenon respecting the bank. Some gentlemen in this town are very much disappointed; but I suppose Congress will take pity on them at the next session, and give them a farther chance to lay up their treasures on earth. I am glad to find that there is such *demonstrative* evidence of the stability and credit of the General Government. I am so much of a *Roman* (I mean a Republican Roman) as to rejoice in a rich national treasury, though I myself am poor.

Mr. Green is returned; and I spent a convivial day with him yesterday on the water, of which he will give you an account. He then saw some of our first characters in their undress, and had as fair an opportunity as possible of forming a just idea of them. I expect to hear him preach Thursday Lecture to-morrow, and that he will dine with me on Friday. Your account of him and Dr. Rush's I find true, as far as I have yet had opportunity to judge.

Twenty-two sheets of my 2d volume are printed off. I

am glad the map is returned, and that Trenchard has no farther concern with it, because I have sufficient proof that he is unworthy of confidence, though I think him a good workman, and his terms *not very* extravagant, if there were any probability of his compliance with his engagements. I have a young engraver at work, but he is modest and manageable. I wish more could be done toward your subscription; but I believe Thomas Walcutt has done the best *he* can, and I am sure no man can do better. I believe there are not more than 3 or 4 names on Thomas's list.

Last week I wrote to you by Mr. John Vaughan, of your city, and sent you three pieces of gold, amounting to £6 15*s.* 3½*d.* of our currency, for R. Aitken, which I have charged *in my book* to his account; and you will put it into the account which I sent by the same conveyance. Little Vaughan appears to be a scientific character, and fond of being thought so. I was pleased with him.

I wish Boston and Philadelphia were within one day's march of each other, and I had rather they should be 50 miles distant than 5 or 6, because then there would be sôme *fun* in making a visit; but 300 miles, unless one has some special business, or is actually on *pilgrimage*, is too much.

I hope brother Morse has got his share in the bank, because it will afford him great pleasure. If he had you for his attorney, I doubt not that his name was mentioned so early as to be included.

Mathew Carey has been here, and called at my door; but I was out of town.

Dear sir, I wish you "health, peace, and competence," and as much *gout* as will be consistent with all three, and no more. How does Mrs. Hazard? Is the fourth blessing on its way? I think you have three? My very kind regards to her. Mr. Green tells me that little Cornelia lives within a mile of Princeton College. I have a good

mind to write to her by him, though she owes me a letter.

Mrs. B. and my family are tolerably well. We have had a very hot summer hitherto. Mr. G. will give you some comparative ideas of the heat of Boston and Philadelphia. Suppose they should be equal, yet I think the inequality of surface, and the neighbourhood of salt water, cool, buoyant, and fit to swim in, gives Boston the preference in point of animal enjoyment. I assure you I make much use of *cold water*, inside and outside. It is to me a sedative equal to what tobacco is to a Dutchman or opium to a Turk. I am, dear sir,

Your obliged friend and humble servant,

J. Belknap.

Your three books respecting the Vermont controversy are on board Hopkins. Pray let me know if they come safe to hand.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

Philadelphia, July 30, 1791.

Dear Sir, — I have received your two favours of 5th inst., and, since them, the parcel by Hopkins, without a letter.

Pickling a man does not appear to me an eligible mode of curing him of the gout; and I do not think it would be effectual, unless you were to pickle him as completely as you do your winter's beef and pork. Patience, well-carded wool, and flannel, are *instar omnium* in the gout.

If your paper is good, it cannot be dear at 14*s*. I congratulate you on the arrival of Jo's types, and shall expect soon to hear of his fame as a printer. He must try to excell your New English "Baskerville."

Callender's Engraving does not strike me as agreeably as the device for the Society's Seal.* *Apropos*, did you ever attend to the device of the Connecticut arms, — a vine supported; the motto, *Qui transtulit sustinet?* It is a beautiful allusion to the vine mentioned in the 80th psalm, and I think excells, both in simplicity and piety.

Your map was sent on some time ago. Spotswood is in this city, and confines himself entirely to printing. From his making so little noise that I heard nothing of him till I made particular enquiry, I suspect he does little even at that.

By this time you know more of Mr. Green, and I think I may venture to say are pleased with him. What have you Yankees done to him? Whenever he mentions you, it is with rapture.

I will pay particular attention to Mr. Walcutt's request, and do all I can to serve him.

Now for Robert. In ruminating upon the business, I recollected, "Perfervidum est Scotorum ingenium," and Solomon's "*Leave off* contention *before it be meddled with*," and "A soft answer turneth away wrath;" so I concluded it was best to do the business peaceably. Accordingly, I went to work in that way, paid him the money (by the bye, you lost 2*s*. 9*d*. in the weight of the gold), and told him I was sorry he had written you an angry letter. He said he had; that he was much pinched for money, and had not "sought" any from you for two years, and he must look for it where it was due to him. I replied that you were as anxious to pay it as he was to receive it, but had not been able. However, you were now going on with your book, and hoped to send more soon. We parted good friends, without saying a word about either note or interest. Enclosed is his receipt.

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* Joseph Callender engraved the seal for the Society established in Massachusetts for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians and Others in North America, from a design made by the artist Gullager. — Eds.

I have not applied to Carey *yet*, because he asked me to *lend him* 100 *dollars* the day before I received your order.

I sent you 25 rheams paper by Hopkins, but had not time to write. What I have sent amounts to £112 1 6

Your money received, ... 129 11 3

Remains, ... 17 9 9

which will not be enough for the 30 rheams yet to be sent.

Mrs. Hazard and two of the children are at Shrewsbury. We who are at home are well. With love to Mrs. Belknap, I am, dear sir,

Your affectionate EBEN. HAZARD.

This is to go by Dr. Clarkson's eldest son.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

BOSTON, September 28, 1791.

DEAR SIR, — After having in vain tried to get a bill payable in Philadelphia, I yesterday packed up six Joes,* and inclosed them in a letter for you; and, knowing that Dr. Adams, the Vice-president, intends to set off for Philadelphia on Monday next, I have asked the favour of him to take charge of this small matter for you. I suppose he will entrust it to his wife, who is major domo, steward, and cashier; and, to save madam the trouble of delivering the letter, I take this method of asking the favour of you to call or send to his house on his arrival in your city. He tells me he has taken a house *in the city*, because he thinks it more wholesome than his late situation, which exposed his family to the ague, of which he is now scarcely recovered himself.

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* *Johannes*, a Portuguese gold coin of the value of about $8, contracted into *Joe*, or *Jo* as Dr. Belknap sometimes spells it. It is named from the figure of King John which it bore. — EDS.

My daughter resides at Braintree, and is, I hope, growing better. One of the greatest blessings in life is "*Mens sana in corpore sano.*" That you and yours may enjoy this happiness is the wish of

Your sincere and obliged friend,

JERE. BELKNAP.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

PHILADELPHIA, October 13, 1791.

MY DEAR SIR, — Owing to a variety of causes, I have been obliged to be silent for some time past, though letters from my friends have been pleasing proofs of their remembrance of me. One cause of my not writing to you was that I daily hoped to receive the information Mr. Walcutt wanted, as I had applied to a gentleman who promised to furnish me with it. He disappointed me for a long time, and it is but within a few days past that I received from him the directory which I now enclose, and which he gave me, expecting one of Fleet's in return. Another reason of my silence was a severe attack of the pain in my right eye, which confined me to the house for a fortnight, and obliges me even yet to treat my eyes with tenderness. In consequence of this disorder, I have thought it adviseable to cut off my hair and wear a wig (not such an one as President Willard's), which I find beneficial. I believe I hurt my eye by poring too attentively over *proof-sheets*, which I have been obliged to decline for some weeks, and began again but yesterday. After I paid for your fourth box of paper, Beeking informed me that his stuff was used up; and he hardly thought it possible for him to furnish the remaining 30 rheams, but knew a man who could, and, if I chose, would speak to him about it. After some parleying, I thought I could not do better than to agree to his proposal, provided he would lend the man his moulds, and

the paper should be equally good with his own. The paper has been in my possession, I suppose, a month, — made in Beeking's moulds, but not quite equal to his. As I was not in the office when it was left, I did not pay for it; and he has but lately called for the money. I objected against paying full price, and shewed him the paper, which he allowed was not equal to his own. I offered to pay 20*s.*; but, as it was for another person, he thought it best not to receive it, but would tell his neighbour he must take that price or take the paper back. I have not heard from him since, and am afraid to send the paper off lest he should demand full price. I hope you have paper enough to go on for the present, and that I shall save you a half Jo, without putting you to inconvenience. The 20 copies of your 1st and 2d volumes came safe to hand. The captain charged a great freight for them. The two bundles, for the President and Mr. Morris, I left at their houses.

As a number of people purchased the first volume who would probably wish for the second, would it not be well to send some spare copies of the latter? I have one of the former, which must have a mate, and then will probably pay Scotland a visit. Several of your subscribers have been informed of the arrival of the books, but have not called for them yet. I believe I must put a small advertisement in the paper, and try what I can do in the selling way. The best time will be about the meeting of Congress. When Mrs. Vice-president arrives, she shall be waited on. Mrs. H. and family are well, but she has had rather a fatiguing time lately. Cornelia and her husband were at our house last Sunday afternoon, to drink tea. He was seized with a violent convulsion fit, and was confined 'til next afternoon, when he was removed to his father's. That morning (Monday) Mrs. H.'s attention was demanded in another way. We had an addition made to our family. Our Dutch servant boy and girl (whom

you may recollect) had been trying their hands at *kinder making;* and really they succeeded very well, for Miss has as fine a son as anybody need wish for.

Cornelia's husband has pretty well recovered, but I fear will never be an healthy man.

Dobson goes on very well with my book. He has persuaded me not to publish any till I have a volume printed, so as to be able to supply the European market without running the risque of being printed upon. I think it probable we shall have a volume done in about 6 or 8 weeks.

I hope your daughter will be in better health by the time this reaches you than she was when you wrote last.

Mrs. Hazard and Miss Breese (now at our house) join me in love to Mrs. Belknap and yourself. I am, my dear sir,

Yours affectionately, EBEN. HAZARD.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

PHILADELPHIA, November 1, 1791.

MY DEAR SIR, — I hope my last has satisfied you that the paper was not detained because I had not received money from you. Since that, I have settled with the paper-maker at 20*s.* per rheam, as you will see by the enclosed receipt. By this we have saved £3. The paper, I think, is not so different from the other as to be observed by people in general; but, as it was not in fact so good, it was not worth an equal price. I have spoken to a carpenter about boxes, and shall send the 30 rheams by an early conveyance. Mrs. V. P. has arrived, but I have not yet called for the 48 dollars: as I am in no hurry, let her get over her fatigue. I do not think the Vice President's late situation was an healthy one. He is now better fixed on that account, at the corner of 4th and Arch Streets.

Mr. Wingate delivered me yours of 13th ult., with the subscription lists. I think it will be best not to deliver the bound and gilt books before the 3 volumes are finished, because of the difficulty of binding exactly alike at distant periods.

Excuse me if I am not a good correspondent; for, between my common business, my big book, which is now advanced to signature Pp., and preparations for building in the spring, I am absolutely *obrutus negotiis*.

I hope this will find your daughter quite recovered, and Mrs. Belknap and family in health. Love to them all from Mrs. H. and

Your friend, EBEN. HAZARD.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

PHILADELPHIA, November 30, 1791.

DEAR SIR, — I have yours of the 28th ult. and 5th inst.; and I suppose you have, ere now, received mine informing you that I had settled the matter with the paper-maker. The Ceres is near sailing, and will bring you the paper in two boxes, agreeably to the enclosed receipt. This, I think, completes your order. The carpenter has not informed me the price of the boxes; but I will endeavour to see him, and let you know how your account stands. The six half Joes sent by Mrs. V. P. are received.

Only two subscribers (Mr. Vaughan and Mr. Madison) have called for their books yet. I have no person by whom I can send them to them, but have thoughts of employing the penny-post, who will probably carry them and receive the money for a trifling consideration.

Mr. Fenno intimated to me that he should charge nothing for the advertisement. I would put the books into Dobson's hands; but I am afraid of affronting Robert, which would be bad policy *at present*, and Robert is not

now able to push a sale, as he could formerly. This embarrasses me.

Ishmael might do for a name for the son of the bondwoman, if we could avoid *concatenations of ideas;* but those who know Ishmael's story would recollect that he could say, "I have Abram to my father," and that this claim was originally founded in Sarai's consent; and perhaps they would begin to whistle (whew) directly, as Uncle Toby did, on another occasion. The lad's name is William; and he and his mother have gone, not into the wilderness, but to New York, where her father and mother are.

Cornelia's husband is in town, and informs us that she is well. An increase is expected there pretty soon. Susan has returned to Shrewsbury.

Mr. Thayer called upon me at my office with your letter; but his stay in town was so short that he could not favour me with his company at my house. He encouraged me to expect him on his return.

I am much pleased with the plan of the "Apollo," and heartily wish it success. Please to have my name entered in the list of subscribers. I suspect there will not be many here. People are tired with subscriptions; but when the work is published, so that some judgment can be formed of its merit, it is probable that some will take it. The proposals have hung up conspicuously in our office ever since they first came to hand, and we have not a single subscriber since.

Did you receive my letter enclosing some communications for Mr. Walcutt, the directory, &c.?

I hope your next will inform me that Sally has got well. My little folks (the two youngest) have been long disordered. They had the chicken-pox, which left impurities in their blood, that have since appeared in tumours, &c. Little Master Erskine (who is two years old this day) has insisted upon being almost constantly in his

mother's or Sally's lap, and has worried them completely. However, he is now getting better; and I hope the cold weather, when it comes, will set all to rights.

My first volume goes on very well. I expect it will make its public appearance in January. I have lately met with the first laws of Virginia, a part of one of which is: "Nor shall any one aforesaid (man or woman, launderer or launderesse) within lesse than a quarter of one mile from the Pallizadoes dare to do the necessities of nature, since by these unmanly, slothfull, and loathsome immodesties, the whole fort may bee choaked and poisoned with ill aires, and so corrupt (as in all reason cannot but much infect the same); and this they shall take notice of and auoid, upon paine of whipping and further punishment, as shall be thoughte meete by the censure of a martiall court." A quarter of a mile, for a man who is hard pushed! It is a serious piece of business.

December 1.

I cannot see the carpenter yet. With love to Mrs. Belknap, I am

Your affectionate EBEN. HAZARD.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

BOSTON, December 19, 1791.

MY DEAR SIR, — Your favour of November 30th came to hand last evening, enclosing Chessman's receipt. The paper arrived safe last week. The enclosures for Fleet came in season, and were of use; and he says (*i.e.*, Tom Fleet) that he intends to send you a Register. I approve of your sending the books by the penny-post. It is the surest way of doing the business. Whatever you receive for them, and whatever balance is in your hands on the paper account, be so good as to pay to Robert. I hope when the 3d volume is out, that I shall be done with him.

Permit me to express my very grateful acknowledgments to you for your very friendly attention to my affairs. I wish you would give me some commission to execute for you here. When your 1st volume comes out, send the copies to me, and I will deliver them and collect the money.

Our "Apollo" will come forth on the 1st Friday in January.* We intend to begin with publishing a collection of original letters and papers relative to the expedition to Cape Breton in 1745, among which Shirley's orders to Pepperell will appear. Your name is added to the subscription. I received a letter the other day from Mr. Randolph, Attorney General of the United States, in which he says: "I cannot learn that any person here is authorized to receive subscriptions for the 'American

* The Historical Society, as we have said, was instituted Jan. 24, 1791. Its MS. materials beginning to accumulate, the members, in the autumn of that year, encouraged the publication of a periodical contemplated by two young men (Alexander Young, the father of the late Rev. Alexander Young, D.D., and Joseph Belknap, Dr. Belknap's oldest son, formerly apprenticed with Aitken, of Philadelphia), with a view to its being made the vehicle of the Society's publications. Accordingly, the "American Apollo" made its appearance in January, 1792, in an octavo form, and continued to be issued weekly till September of that year. Each number contained from eight to twelve pages, besides the publications of the Historical Society, which were stitched into the same covers, making from four to eight pages additional. The first number of the "Apollo" was issued on Friday, Jan. 6, 1792; and the last, in the octavo form, Friday, September 28, of the same year: making thirty-nine numbers in all. In these thirty-nine numbers there were issued two hundred and eight pages of the first volume of the Society's Collections. The "Apollo" was then continued in a newspaper form; and the remainder of the volume of Collections, eighty pages, was issued in four parts or numbers, for the months of September, October, November, and December, stitched in blue covers. Vols. II. and III. of the Collections were issued in like manner, — that is, in twelve monthly numbers each, in 1793 and 1794, generally in blue covers, and from the same press, that of "Belknap and Hall;" the last six numbers of Vol. III. bearing the imprint of Joseph Belknap, "printer to the Historical Society." (The firm of "Belknap and Young" was dissolved May 16, 1792; and, soon afterwards, that of "Belknap and Hall" was formed, and continued till its dissolution, July 3, 1794.) Vols. IV. and V. of the Collections were published in 1795 and 1798, in quarterly parts or numbers, and printed by Samuel Hall, No. 53 Cornhill, Boston. Vol. V. was the last printed in numbers.

A sketch of the formation of the Historical Society, and a minute bibliographical account of its earliest publications, was contributed by the writer to the "Cambridge Chronicle" for June 26, 1852. — Eds.

Apollo;' otherwise, I should pay the sum required. At any rate, I beg to be considered as one of the subscribers."

If I mistake not, I asked you to appoint some person for this purpose. If no person is yet appointed, suppose you should ask Fenno. I have not seen his advertisement; but I consider myself as much obliged by his goodness, and I beg you to inform him of it.

My 3d volume is advanced to letter R. I hope it will be out by February. I have an index to make for the whole, a jobb which I dread more than writing a whole volume.*

I am in treaty with T. & A. for the "Foresters," to be printed in a duodecimo.† What think you of $\frac{1}{3}$ of the sheets, or the value thereof at the selling price, for every edition during the term allowed for proprietorship? No risk on my part, and only a liability to pay for half the paper of the first edition, if there be not enough sold to pay the expence of paper in two years? I prefer having T. & A. for proprietors, for two reasons: First, they have extensive connections, and can push a sale. Secondly, there will probably be no suspicion who the author is, which would infallibly be the case if my son were to stand as proprietor; and I wish to remain *concealed*, if possible. I shall correct the parts already printed, divide them into letters, and continue the work.

I wish you joy on the acquisition of the Virginia Laws.

I hope none of the pallisaded inhabitants were troubled with the diarrhœa, or, if they were, that the law was executed in mercy. Had the legislative powers there been as wise as *our* forefathers, and adopted the *Laws of Moses*, they would have found a *paddle* provided in such cases. If you print these laws, and your other *miscellanea curi-*

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* Unhappily, the *index* to Dr. Belknap's "History of New Hampshire" was never prepared; at least, it was never *printed*. — Eds.

† Thomas and Andrews, of Boston, who printed the first edition of the "Foresters" in a book form, in 1792. — Eds.

osa, in your work, they will give a seasoning to the dry collection of charters and proclamations which will make the work popular.

Our best regards to Mrs. Hazard. Hope your children are by this time well. Sally is completely restored, to our great joy and comfort. I am, sir,

Your obliged friend and servant,

JERE. BELKNAP.

Brother Morse is fixed in his new house. They were all well on Thursday last.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

PHILADELPHIA, January 21, 1792.

MY DEAR SIR, — I am glad to find, by yours of 19th ultimo, that the paper by Cheeseman got safe to hand, and that the enclosures for Fleet were in season, and of use. I have received from him one of his Registers, which, from your and his manner of writing, I suppose was intended for me; but, as Mr. Biddle expected one in return for his directory (and I encouraged him to expect it), I shall give it to him. The penny-post has been employed, but has not yet made his returns, so that I have not yet paid Robert; but he shall be attended to.

Colonel Pickering is not in any list you sent me; but he called, and informed me he was a subscriber, had the 1st volume, and wanted the 2d. I let him have it, and he paid me for it. A Mr. Martin came to-day, and subscribed for 2d and 3d. He had the 1st, and I let him have the 2d, for which he paid me. I find I shall have a number of 1st volumes left.

When my 1st volume comes out, I will send it to you, as you desire. It would have been finished, as to printing, by this time, but our paper failed. We are to have more

on Tuesday next, and by the next Saturday night I hope to see *finis*. I have corrected sheet H, of the 4th alphabet, to-night. L will finish the volume. My index is ready, as far as we have printed; and I think the *preface* will be very short. I hate prefaces, and am *vastly* puzzled to know what to say in one, or how to say it. I began one (and proceeded some way in it), which I designed for an handsome piece of composition; but, upon a review, disliked it, as appearing too much studied. I have now a different one on the anvil, which don't quite please me. I must hammer out something before long.

I have received the 1st number of the Apollo, and think it will be a useful work. It is not so correctly printed as it ought to be. Governour Hopkins, of Rhode Island, began the history of that State, and published (I think) seven numbers in the Providence newspaper, and died, leaving it unfinished. Has your Society these papers? If not, I can let them have them.* I have applied to the Governour's family for his materials, but they cannot be found. If those ministerial letters from William Pitt, &c., which I got in New Hampshire, and left in your hands, will be of use to them, they are at their service. I think T. & A. should allow you *half* the sheets, if you are to be liable for half the paper. Indeed, as you have *all* the labour of writing the F., I think you ought not to be liable for any.

What part of the Laws of Moses did you allude to, in which the Virginians might have found a "*puddle*" provided in such cases as theirs?

I expect to print the Virginian Laws, but not my *miscellanea curiosa*, unless I should see how they might be useful, and could be printed without the appearance of a design to hold up their authors in a ridiculous point of

* In the "Providence Gazette," in 1765. The account is republished in 2 Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections, IX. 166–203. — Eds.

view, which I do not wish. They will perhaps throw light upon the state of society and manners in that day, but should be accompanied with some more serious things.

Mrs. H. and I sincerely rejoice with you on Sally's restoration. May she long be a source of joy and comfort to you. Our love to Mrs. B.

Cornelia is the mother of a son about three weeks old; both well. I am, dear sir,

Your affectionate EBEN. HAZARD.

P. S. As I did not expect to write to you to-night, I did not bring your account from the office. You shall have it soon.

Mr. Jefferson has the copy of your book, and I have his *receipt* at the office too.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

PHILADELPHIA, January 28, 1792.

MY DEAR SIR, — Since my last (which goes by Mr. Gorham with this), I have stated, and now enclose your account, by which you will see that I have £11 6*s*. 2*d*. to pay Robert. It will be acceptable to him. I saw him t'other day, and told him I should pay him some soon: he said it was very well.

How do you send the Apollo? I have not yet received the 2d No., though Mr. Wingate has had it several days. As there is no postage on newspapers yet, I apprehend it will not be trespassing, either on his friendship or honour, if you enclose mine to him; and, as he lodges nearly opposite to me, it will give him little trouble.

Fenno has advertised that subscriptions for the Apollo are received by him. He says "if Belknap and Young

will do his business in Boston, he will do theirs here." It is probable he will write to them.

Our youngest child is very sick. His disorder is something like the hives, but hope it will terminate favourably. All the rest of us are well. Our love to Mrs. Belknap. I am, dear sir,

Your friend, EBEN. HAZARD.

P. S. I have been reading a MS. translation of *Warville's* Travels in America. If the *Quakers* had bribed him, he could not praise them more. He complains that genius is not encouraged in America, and, among other instances, mentions that "never has the whole of the precious History of New Hampshire, by Belknap, appeared, for want of encouragement."*

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

BOSTON, February 18, 1792.

MY DEAR SIR, — Your favour is this evening received, and the enclosed for Mr. Harbach. As cold water to a thirsty soul, so are your letters always to me, now much rarer than when you stood in the place where Timothy Pickering now stands. I have scarcely had time to look over the account, but am glad to find there is *some* balance for Scotus. I hope to be able to pay him off as soon as my 3d volume gets under way.

Brother Cutler went, in the last stage, to Philadelphia. I requested him to bring me McMurray's Map of the

* Brissot de Warville's "New Travels in the United States of America, performed in 1788," translated from the French edition of 1791, was published in London in 1792, the preface of the translator bearing date "Feb. 1, 1792." An English version was published in New York the same year. A full bibliographical account of this writer's publications may be seen in Sabin's "Dictionary of Books relating to America." — EDS.

United States. I shall be obliged if you will assist him in procuring it, and pay him for it out of the proceeds of the books.

When your book comes forth, I beg that I may do the same favour for you that you are doing for me. I shall think myself honoured by the commission.

Your Apollo goes regularly, under cover, to the postmaster at Philadelphia. If, upon enquiry, any numbers should be missing, let me have notice, and they shall be replaced. As soon as the new *act* is finished, I hope all such matters will go safely.

The 20th sheet of my 3d volume is now working off. It has gone on slowly, by reason of the many tables of figures, &c.; but the remainder will, I hope, go on more rapidly.

Pray who or what is John Churchman, that makes such wonderful discoveries and improvements in longitude, variation, and gravity? My friend Jo. Pope (the Orrery maker) says he can detect his errors with respect to gravity, and he has promised me that he will do it.

I forgot to ask you to present one of my 2d volumes to the Philosophical Society. You will oblige me by doing it.

Brissot is a very superficial writer. Our friends at Portsmouth are affronted that he says of them that they know not how to make so good salt fish as at Marblehead. His travels put me in mind of Tom Thumb riding on the back of a crow to *see the world.* You mention another letter, which was to come by Mr. Gorham. I have not received it, nor do I know whether he is here or not. Judge Lowell is at Philadelphia. You may have an opportunity of writing by him. I hope this will find your child recovered and your family in health. Mine are so, through the divine blessing. We know the value of health by the contrasts which have appeared so frequently. It is best we should undergo such discipline. Mrs. B. and

our children unite in affectionate regards to you and Mrs. Hazard.

Your sincere friend, JERE. BELKNAP.

Please to give my respects to Mr. Green. I am now reading the travels of your botanical, rhapsodical Quaker, William Bartram, among the magnolias and alligators of Georgia and Florida.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

BOSTON, February 20, 1792.

DEAR SIR, — By last night's mail I sent an answer to yours, containing my account and Mr. Jefferson's receipt. This P.M. I am favoured with your prior letter, of 21st January, by Mr. Gorham. It was not a *puddle*, but a *paddle*, that the Law of Moses prescribed (see Deut. 23. 13). But I suppose that, in my hurry, I left the *a* open at top! How many mistakes, and perhaps some of more importance, have been occasioned by such trifling omissions!

You shall have one of Fleet's Registers. He did not know that you procured the materials of another person.

I thank you for the leave you give me to present the letters to our Historical Society. They shall be presented in *your* name. We shall be much obliged by Governour Hopkins's papers.

If Colonel Pickering is a subscriber, he must mean that he subscribed for the 1st volume when it was printed. His name is not in any paper which has been returned to me. I wish to have all the names, because I am determined to print them; and I shall be glad to add his to the catalogue.

On looking over the account, I find that you make a discrimination between subscribers and non-subscribers. For instance, you have set down: —

1st and 2d Volume,	John Vaughan . . .	£1	0	0
1st and 2d Volume,	Dr. Rush	0	18	9
1st and 2d Volume,	Sold	1	0	0

I make no such distinction, but sell to all alike.

By the way, Vaughan told me he had subscribed for 6 sets.

I know not who William Martin is. No such name has been returned to me. With respect to the "Foresters," I am not liable for half the paper, but only in case they do not sell; a supposition which an author is not fond of admitting. But, as the printer supposed it possible, I made a counter stipulation, that I would pay for half the paper, provided that there should not be enough sold *in two years* to pay the expence of paper, and would take one-third of what should then be left on hand. You will also consider that, in case of a second or any future edition, the printer will have *all* the same labour and expence, and the author *none*, except correcting and revising. When this comes into the account, perhaps you will view it as, on the whole, a good bargain; that is, an *equitable* one, which is all the bargain I ever wish to make with anybody.

February 25.

Jedediah and his wife dined with us on Thursday, and the letters were then delivered. They are both well, and Mrs. B. *thinks* there is an appearance. You know women of her years are sagacious observers.

Thank Mrs. Hazard for the buckwheat meal. It is not yet made into cakes, but Mrs. Morse has given us a receipt.

I hope you have got the "Apollo." It goes under cover to the postmaster at Philadelphia, along with one for Mr. Wingate and another for Mr. Randolph. These three are all that are sent to Philadelphia, except those for the printers. There are, and will be, press errors in it; for they work *by night*, when it is impossible for me to

correct. The first half-sheet always passes my inspection *once*, but the last half-sheet I cannot answer for. I am, dear sir,

Your friend, J. B.

As this goes under cover to J. Pintard, of New York, with some other papers and letters, I will not enclose Fleet's Register now, but wait for a vessel.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

Boston, February 29, 1792.

Dear Sir, — I have received a request from William Young, in behalf of the proprietors of the Asylum, for 1,500 copies of my Map of New Hampshire, to accompany a review of the History in their Magazine.* It seems, by his letter, that they had contemplated re-engraving the map, but did not think it proper "to take that liberty without my leave." As I think all bargains are best made *viva voce*, I have referred him to you, as my plenipotentiary; and I beg the favour of you to make as good a bargain for me as you can. The data on which you will proceed, I will state to you. In the first place, the copyright of the *Map*, as well as of the *History*, is secured to me by law: therefore a price should be set on my licence to re-engrave the Map, *which, however, I do not mean to give.* But, suppose I should, then the next thing to be considered is, at what price they could get the *plate* and the *engraving* done, then the price of *paper*, and lastly of *printing* so many copies, at —— per hundred,

* The "Universal Asylum and Columbian Magazine," a monthly periodical, published in Philadelphia as a continuation of the "Columbian Magazine or Monthly Miscellany," was printed by William Young. Dr. Belknap's map of New Hampshire was issued in the second volume of his History. It appears, further on, that the negotiations with Young for the use of his map fell through. — Eds.

which is the general way of computing. These are to be considered on their part, to ascertain what the map would cost them in Philadelphia.

On my part, are to be considered the *paper, printing, wearing* of the plate, and actual *profit.* These I shall state, except the last, which I will leave wholly to you.

On my part: —

	L.	M.
Three and one-half reams of paper (of that last parcel which you sent me from Philadelphia, or writing paper of the same price), 18*s.* per rheam	£3	3 0
Printing 1,500 copies, at 6*s.* per hundred . . .	4	10 0
Wearing of the plate	4	10 0
My actual profit		
	£	

On their part: —

My licence for re-engraving	
Plate, and engraving in Philadelphia	
Paper	
Printing 1,500 at per hundred	

The wearing of the plate I have estimated according to the opinion of my engraver. It may also be taken into consideration that the Maps singly are sold here and in New Hampshire at 1*s.* 6*d.*, though I should not think of asking any thing like this for so great a quantity, and for such a purpose.

After you have made the bargain, I will, on the first notice, set the press to work; and, as soon as the number is finished, will ship them on account and risk of Mr. Young.

I wrote to you to procure McMurray's Map of the United States, since which I have heard that there is a *new* map proposed at Philadelphia. I leave it with you to get one or the other, as you think best.

Your obliged friend, JERE. BELKNAP.

If they choose to send paper on purpose to have the Maps printed upon, I have no objection.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

PHILADELPHIA, April 13, 1792.

MY DEAR SIR, — I am afraid you will think you have but a bad plenipotentiary; and, to be candid, I am pretty much of the same opinion; but that I had a letter to write you has lain with weight upon my mind, and I once actually sate down for the purpose, but was called away, and behold the business is yet undone.

Scotus was paid, as per enclosed receipt. I had encouraged him to expect some money ere long, and, being pushed, he wrote me a friendly note, reminding me of my promise. I called and paid him, and from his looks I judge that I exceeded his expectations. I have sold no books since.

Mr. Cutler has been in town some time, and has called on me. We cannot yet find a complete McMurray's Map. I have not yet heard of the new map you mention as proposed here. Proposals are issued for a large map of Pennsylvania.

The last No. of the Apollo which I have received is 12. No. 8 has never come to hand. The new act will take effect in June, and then perhaps irregularity will cease.

I can give you no account of John Churchman beyond what you have seen in the newspapers, except that I have heard some of our philosophers speak disrespectfully of his discoveries and improvements.

Your 2d volume was presented to the Philosophical Society, as you desired, and properly received.

Brissot is really a superficial writer. A translation of his work in MS. was put into my hands for perusal, and I was to try to get it to press; but I got fairly sick of it before I had finished the 1st volume. His rhapsodical eulogies of the Quakers are fulsome, disgusting stuff,

which I think the Quakers themselves must be ashamed of.

Is not Bartram's work a curiosity?

The *paddle* removes the difficulty. How under heaven did that pop into your head? If the Virginians had recollected it, they might have saved themselves some trouble.

Fleet's Register is received, for which I thank both you and him. Hopkins's papers shall be sent you as soon as I can spare them.

It is probable that Colonel Pickering subscribed for your 1st volume, and I am persuaded he will not blame you for considering him as a subscriber.

I made a difference between subscribers and non-subscribers for several reasons. Subscribers encouraged the work by actually paying money in advance, for which they ought to have some consideration. They were under engagements to take the books, and you were under obligations to let them have them at a certain price. This was not the case with non-subscribers, and it was right to make them pay something towards the freight. Vaughan never subscribed, that I know of; but he took a sett, and told me that he should take several more when the work is complete. I am not acquainted with William Martin.

Notwithstanding your explanation, I do not quite approve the bargain about the "Foresters," because it may so happen that the sales may just pay the expence of the paper, and then you will get nothing for your labour. It is true that Master Type will get nothing for printing, but I do not think the printing equal in value to the composing. However, if you are satisfied, I am.

It seems that Mrs. Belknap's conjectures about her neighbour at Charlestown were well founded. I hope Jedediah will not be as lavish of names as he was before, or that he will, at least, leave one for us. How do you like buckwheat cakes?

April 21.

No. 14 of the Apollo has arrived, but there are no tidings of 8 or 13 yet.

Young offered but 30 dollars per 1,000 for the Maps, you finding paper. This I think too little. If you will take that, you may send out 1,500; but I do not advise to it, because I do not think the profit adequate to the trouble, and it looks like undervaluing your own work.

In your 2d volume, p. 124, you mention the salary as being £600, and perquisites £200, equal to about 800 *dollars* per annum. Is there not an error there?

You have doubtless heard of the failures at New York. How emphatically have riches made to themselves wings and flown away! We are told it is difficult to have an idea of the distress which has taken place; and all seems to originate from one man, who had no claim to half the credit he possessed. John Pintard and Royal Flint (both of whom I believe you know) are among the ruined. The evil has reached this city: some bankruptcies have taken place, more are expected, and *many* people will be very much hurt. A kind Providence has so effectually taken care of Jonas and me, that we escape untouched.

About three weeks ago I sprained my foot, which still continues tender. It brought on a slight touch of the gout, but I am able to hobble about town. It happens unfortunately, as I have been pulling down a couple of old houses to make room for a new one, and it is necessary to attend to the workmen. I hope to have my house ready for our reception this fall. It is to be "a fair brick house," like that Sir William Phipps determined to own.

My 1st volume is published. A vessel will sail for Boston early in next week, by which you will receive your quota, — say 50. Mr. Morse has subscribed for three: please to make him a present of another. Request Mr. Walcutt's acceptance of one, with my compliments, and

thanks for the assistance he afforded me. From the appearance of my materials, I expect there will be *four* volumes instead of *two*. My writing spreads amazingly in print. The price of the volume, in boards, is 4 dollars and a quarter, and 1 dollar is to be paid in advance towards the 2d volume.

As a whole volume is published, I send none in numbers; but, if subscribers prefer numbers, please to inform me, and they shall be sent.

April 29.

My foot is well, but weak. No Apollo since No. 14. This is to go early to-morrow morning, by young Mr. Bromfield, of Charlestown. The enclosed was occasioned by Elihu Palmer's advertising in the newspaper that he intended to preach against the divinity of Jesus Christ.

Mrs. H. sends love to Mrs. B. So does

Your friend, EBEN. HAZARD.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

PHILADELPHIA, May 8, 1792.

MY DEAR SIR, — I wrote to you a few days ago, since which I have received none from you.

The binders are so much hurried that they have not been able to get my books done so as to send to distant subscribers as soon as I wished. However, Mr. Dobson informs me this morning that he shall send some to Boston this week. I have directed him to send 50, and address them to you. Mr. Morse subscribed for *three:* these he will pay for, and I will thank you to inform him that the one I sent him by young Mr. Bromfield is a token of friendship. As I have already done it, you need not pay any attention to that part of my former letter in which I desired you to give him one. Our friend Jerry Libbey subscribed for one, for the Portsmouth Library: you will

please to supply that. It will be proper to advertise the book for sale in the paper that circulates most. Russel has a claim upon my gratitude; and the sons of Apollo, being young beginners, ought to be assisted. *Apropos*, I have no Apollo since No. 14.

William Ellery, Esq., formerly member of Congress, and Jacob Richardson, Esq., postmaster, Newport, Rhode Island, are subscribers. I must refer them to you for their books. The price is four dollars and a quarter for the first volume, and a dollar to be paid in advance towards the 2d.*

I have 9 of your 1st volumes, and not one of your 2d, remaining. It is probable that more will sell. Send on some more, and I will do what I can to help you.

Congress are to adjourn to-day. This is to go by our friend Wingate.

Please to present one of my books to the Academy of Arts and Sciences, as a contribution to their common stock from one of their members.

Mrs. H. and family are well. We salute you and yours. I am, dear sir,

Yours sincerely, EBEN. HAZARD.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

BOSTON, 8th May, 1792.

DEAR SIR, — After a long, very long intermission, your favour of the 13th ultimo, by Mr. Bromfield, came to hand this P.M., just as I had finished packing up 20 copies of my 3d volume, to be sent by the schooner Isabella, Abijah Luce, master. Of these you will be so good as to present one to the Philosophical Society, and deposit one in the office of Secretary Jefferson, taking a receipt. I

* A list, in Dr. Belknap's hand, of the subscribers in Boston and its vicinity to Hazard's "Historical Collections," is appended to this letter. — EDS.

have thought whether it would not be as well for me, and you, and Scotus, that (excepting what books are to be delivered to subscribers, who have paid *advance*) an offer should be made to Scotus to take the books on account, allowing him a discount of 10 *per cent*, which our booksellers say is the customary commission. If you approve this mode, put it into execution. For the sake of getting wholly rid of his debt, I will consent to let Young have the maps at 4 dollars per hundred, or even $3\frac{1}{2}$, if you cannot get him to give 4, and I have written to him to apply to you again. They shall be printed on such paper as those in the 2d volume, which you now have; and I beg to know *as soon as possible*, viz. per post, whether you make a bargain or not, because that paper must very soon be put to some other use, if not to this.

In page 225 of the 3d volume, you will see, by the table of the value of silver in Governour Belcher's time, that there is no mistake about his salary and perquisites.

I shall expect your books very soon, and will comply with your directions respecting them.

I am very happy to find that the *crash* among the speculators at New York has not affected you or Jonas. I find that he has been blamed by some of the fraternity for not being so sanguine an adventurer as they wished him to be; but *medio tutissimus ibis* is a good motto, and he now finds the benefit of it.

If Pintard is ruined, I am extremely sorry, because of his family, which I am sure needs a protector, and because he was friendly to me. He was my bookseller in New York, and paid me immediately for the whole parcel of the 1st and 2d volumes which I sent him, taking the distribution entirely to himself. Now I know not another person in the city to whom I can send the 3d volume. Can you recommend one to me? I send you the F . . . . rs in sheets. I know *you* will not quarrel with the names and character of the *speculators* in page

198, but I suppose others will. I hope to remain unknown, and beg you would try, as much as lies in your power, to keep me so. But the old proprietors of the Columbian Magazine know me, and through that channel it may leak out.

I will give my son the numbers of the Apollo which are wanting, and he will send them. There are direful complaints about the irregularity of conveyance.

Why did not the Philosophical Society send me a copy of Dr. Smith's eulogy on Dr. Franklin? Our Academy made a point of supplying all the distant members with Mr. Lowell's on Governour Bowdoin. If you can procure one for me, I shall be much obliged.

I wish you clear of the gout and all other disorders, and that *mens sana in corpore sano* may ever be your portion. One of my sons has just had the small-pox by inoculation, and another son and two daughters are now just gone to Rainsford's Island Hospital for the same purpose.

May 9.

I expect to see brother Morse to-day at Cambridge, whither I am going to attend an examination of the students, which I suppose will last three days. We have had *one fatigue* of this kind already this spring. It is as bad as attending court in character of a juror.

Morse has had his Geography printed in England, and there is a character of it in the Monthly Review which pleases him much.

My best regards to Mrs. Hazard, with Mrs. B.'s. The buckwheat cakes are excellent. We have had them several times, and my goody has learned to make them very well. I am, dear sir, with much affection and respect,

Your sincere and obliged friend,

Jere. Belknap.

If Scotus will take his whole pay in books, he may have them.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

PHILADELPHIA, May 30, 1792.

DEAR SIR, — I received yours, with 20 of your 3d volume, by Captain Luce. One of the books shall be presented to the Society, and another deposed with the Secretary, as you request.

Scotus has been applied to, but does not think it will do to take pay in books, as it is not probable that he shall sell them. He says that he sold but few when he was the publisher, and he cannot expect to sell even so many now. Here, then, we have not succeeded. We have been equally unsuccessful with Scotus *alter*. Young has consulted his partners, and they think it too late to insert the Map in their Magazine.

Jonas and I were both blamed, or rather ridiculed, for want of enterprise. Events have proved that our caution was proper. We did not make money so fast as others; but what we made we kept, while they have lost all, and some of them their reputation with their money. I am very sorry for Pintard. He has his amiable qualities, though I never thought him possessed of either prudence or steadiness sufficient for a man of business. The poor fellow has lately been arrested; and I find, from his publication in a newspaper, that he does not expect to be extricated from his difficulties but by the regular process of a bankruptcy. I know nobody in New York who will serve you with the zeal and friendship of Pintard. Of the booksellers, *I* think *Hugh Gaine* the best. He is a man of property, of note in his profession, and strictly honest; but he has too much *vis inertiæ* in his composition. However, he is my *main stay* there.

Thank you for the Foresters. I have read them with pleasure, and lent them to Fenno, who has published an extract from them. He is sure he knows the author, and

I do not think it possible to keep him concealed; but the discovery shall not be made by me.

The 8th and 13th Nos. of the Apollo are received, but none since No. 14.

The Philosophical Society do not publish any thing at their own risque, but allow a copyright to printers who will take the risque upon themselves; and, in respect to purchasing the publications, the members are upon no better footing than other persons. This will account for your not having had a copy of Smith's Eulogy on Franklin sent to you from the Society. I have never seen a copy of it, but will endeavour to procure one for you.

I hope your children have got safely through the small-pox.

I have this day received a letter from Morse, in which he intimates that the reviewers have spoken rather favourably of him. It must be a pleasing circumstance, especially when it is considered that, as many people pin their faith upon the reviewer's sleeves, it may increase the sales. What will those critics say to the assertion in your 3d volume, that "bats are the only *mamillary bipeds* in New Hampshire"? Let them say what they will, I think you will get honour, if not profit, by your History. The last volume will be the most interesting to persons who are not inhabitants of the State.

Mrs. Hazard is pleased that the buckwheat cakes suit Mrs. B.'s and your taste. She joins me in love to you both. We have just had a visit from Mrs. Morse's brother Arthur, by whom we are informed that our Shrewsbury friends are well. Your friend Cornelia lives now in this city. She and her child are well.

This has been a *piping hot* day, and I have got my eyes half full of lime. My building advances cleverly. I am, my dear sir,

Your very affectionate EBEN. HAZARD.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

PHILADELPHIA, June 19, 1792.

MY DEAR SIR, — I have received yours enclosing information of my being elected a Corresponding Member of the Historical Society.* From the attention paid to me in this and other instances, I fear my abilities have been much over-rated, and that disappointment to the Societies, and disgrace to myself, will be the consequence. I have not leisure, and my mind has been, and is, necessarily so much engrossed by *mere business*, as to be disqualified for literary speculations. However, I will do as well as I can; and, if I do not equal expectation, I must depend on your friendship to make the best apology it can for me.

Charles Thompson lives out of the city. I will send the letter to him by the first opportunity. Please to present one of my books to the Society. Dobson says they must have arrived before now. I received, some time since, an acknowledgment of the receipt of the MSS. you delivered the Society for me.

I answered yours accompanying the 3d volume, by post, as you desired, and in that mentioned Fenno's publication to you. Why don't Thomas send on the Foresters? *Noah* was always a wise man. He will be undeceived.

Your 3d volume was delivered to the Philosophical Society at their meeting last Friday. The donation was entered on their minutes, as usual; but they never make formal acknowledgments of communications from *mem-*

* This letter, here acknowledged, like many others of this correspondence, on both sides, appears to be wanting. Hazard and five other persons (Hazard standing at the head of the list) were elected Corresponding Members of the Society on the 29th May, 1792, — the first names entered on that roll. Hazard was nominated by Dr. Belknap on the 23d December, 1791, — the first nomination made. — EDS.

bers, leaving this to the friend through whose hands they come.

I am glad to hear that your children have got safely through the small-pox. Ours are well. I am, in haste,

Yours affectionately, EBEN. HAZARD.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

BOSTON, June 27, 1792.

DEAR SIR, — Yesterday, or the day before, your 50 books arrived safe. This day they are advertised in the Centinel, and Friday they will be again advertised in the Apollo. I have sent one to Jere. Libbey, and have put up two for Newport, which wait for an opportunity. I think the work is well executed. When I hear the opinions of any upon it, I will tell you what they say.

I intend to send you some more copies of my 2d and 3d volume, to match those of the 1st which you have remaining, and *more*, if you think they will go off. I have done waiting for the New Hampshire Constitution to be revised and altered. The Convention have adjourned, and sent out some other proposed alterations. I know not when they will finish; and I am advised, from that quarter, to wait no longer.

Accept a pamphlet, lately reprinted; and, if it be not too much trouble, I beg you to deliver the others as they are marked. With love to you and yours, I am, dear sir,

Your friend, JERE. BELKNAP.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

BOSTON, July 4, 1792.

MY DEAR SIR, — My last went by Captain Cheesman, and the bundle which accompanies this was intended to go

by him too, but happened not to get to the wharf till he was under sail. It contains 10 copies of the 2d and 10 of the 3d volumes of New Hampshire History, which I suppose will match the 1st volumes that you have on hand.

I shall have my books now bound up, and shall wait no longer for the revisal of the New Hampshire Constitution. The *hen* has been sitting, and sitting again, but has produced nothing; and whether she will at her next, or next but one, or the next to that, do any better, I cannot prophecy.

Your books have been advertised; and a printed advertisement, in form of a billet, has been sent to every subscriber. Two only have been taken and paid for as yet, but I expect more will go off soon. Tell me how to dispose of the money. All well, as I hope yours are.

Your friend, JEREMY BELKNAP.

Your letter accepting the election is received, and will be laid before the Society at their next meeting, which will be the last Tuesday in July; and you will then have thanks for the book. That for the Academy will be presented in August. Mr. Walcutt has a delicate feeling about him, which makes him loth to receive one as a present; but I will endeavour to get him to take it, if possible.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

BOSTON, July 11, 1792.

DEAR SIR, — I have sent you, by a vessel which was to sail the beginning of this week, the master's name I have forgot, 10 of the 2d volume and 10 of the 3d, in blue. These, I suppose, will make complete sets, with the first volumes remaining in your hands, and I think, when sold, will nearly, or quite, make enough to pay the balance due

to Scotus, which is, according to my account, £21 15*s.* 1*d.* of our money. By the way, there is a small difference between the charge in your last account of

cash paid him	£11	6	2
and his receipt, which you sent me, dated Feb. 23, 1792	11	5	0
	£0	1	2

It is of no consequence. I suppose it is one of his blunders.

Of your books, six are sold and paid for. I have sent out billets to every subscriber, enclosing a copy of the advertisement.

As to the New Hampshire Constitution, which I proposed to reprint, I have done with all thought of it. The alterations, if any, will be few and trivial.

Mr. Fleet has requested me to ask you to send him one of Clement Biddle's Registers, if they are printed this year, that he may get some matter out of it for his next year's Register.

I expect, next week, to go into New Hampshire, so leave this letter to be given to Colonel Pickering, who will probably be here on his return next week. My family is all well, and send their regards to yours. I am, dear sir,

Your friend, J. Belknap.

P. S. My books are now binding. Would you have me send any number, bound, to Philadelphia, beside what are subscribed for?

Our friend *Evans* is in town. He is as full of enthusiasm about *Gallic* liberty as ever he was about America.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

PHILADELPHIA, July 23, 1792.

DEAR SIR, — I am glad to find that my books got to hand safely, for it seems they were *in the storm*, according to Dobson's account. If you discover any *errata*, please to mention them to me.

Your 2d volumes are all gone. Indeed, I parted with my own copy, to complete a set which Dobson had an order for. Whether "more" will go off, is uncertain; but it will be well to make sets of what I have.

Thank you for your Sermon. A *second* edition of a *sermon*, now-a-days, is a curiosity. Those for your other friends are delivered, except that for Mr. Ball, which he should have had; but I thought, til within a day or two, that he lived in the country.

Jonas and I have dissolved our partnership.* Business is dull, and the honest man got discouraged: he is, moreover, in an ill state of health. I think he is consumptive. For the present he has gone to Lake Champlain, where his mother and brother live. He intends to visit some lands he has on the Cayuga Lake, and will, in the mean time, think of some new mode of business. From the enclosed hand-bill, you will see I am now a noun substantive, so far as to *stand by myself;* and I hope I shall be able to *make sense.* Please to have the hand-bill printed in the Centinel, and in the paper in which the laws are printed (I think it is Adams's), once a week, for four weeks, in each. Pay for it. I enclose a prize ticket (No. 3,087), which drew 8 dollars in the second class of the Semiannual Lottery, and one dollar, new emission money. Please to receive the money for the former, and dispose of the latter for what it will fetch, and place both to my credit. I am

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* Jonas Addoms. See Hazard's letter of Jan. 14, 1791. — EDS.

sorry to trouble you with these little matters, but they are not worth writing another letter about. Will it be convenient for you to have one of my hand-bills put up at the Coffee-house? Jonathan Hastings will not object against fixing one in his office. A man who expects to go *profitably* through life must make some noise in the world.

Why do you propose that, when a man dies, his share in your Social Library shall go to the surviving subscribers? The shares in *our* company are transferable, and a man may bequeath them by his will, or sell them, provided the proposed purchase is approved of, &c.

Since writing the above, I have seen the gentleman who is to carry this, and he tells me he can take one of our catalogues; and, as I have one to spare, I send it. You will there see our rules, though the catalogue has become very incomplete through the additions made to the books since it was printed.

My masons have done the brick-work of my house; and, had it not been for the rain, the carpenters would have begun the roof to-day. It looks very well so far, and I am in hopes will prove a comfortable situation.

Remember me to Mrs. Belknap. I am, dear sir,

Yours, EBEN. HAZARD.

P. S. I have the Apollo regularly to No. 14 inclusive. The rest are wanting, to No. 21 inclusive. 25 is wanting. 26 is the last I have received. Please to have them sent regularly, in the mail.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

BOSTON, August 7, 1792.

MY DEAR SIR, — Your favour of the 23d of July, enclosing an account of the Library of Philadelphia, is this moment come to hand; and, as there is a vessel now

ready to sail, on board of which I have already put one letter for you, I will lose no time in saying that I see in this of yours no account of the arrival of a bundle in brown paper containing 10 of my 2d volume and 10 of the 3d, which were put on board a vessel, sloop Juno, Constant Norton, and sailed hence a month ago. You have his receipt enclosed. I know nothing of the man, nor to whom he is consigned, nor whether he is gone to Davy Jones's locker, as the sailors say, nor any thing more about him than that I gave the bundle to a mercantile friend of mine, and he returned me the receipt. I hope you have got the bundle ere now, and am, dear sir,

Your obliged friend and humble servant,

JERE. BELKNAP.

Will take care of the ticket and bill and advertisements.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

PHILADELPHIA, August 7, 1792.

MY DEAR SIR, — Yours of July 4th and 11th are received, with the bundle by the Juno, containing ten 2d and ten 3d volumes of your History. Since it is so uncertain what the New Hampshire folks will do about their Constitution, and when they will do any thing, I think you are right in not waiting for them. When you have received a sum worth remitting for my books, please to send it to either Mr. Dobson or me. Perhaps the Boston branch of the United States Bank will be able to accommodate you with an order, or something which will facilitate the remittance. The mistake of 1*s.* 2*d.* was mine, and not Scotus's. I paid him 30 dollars, which is £11 5*s.* Please to inform Mr. Fleet that Mr. Biddle has published no directory except the one of which I sent him a copy. His sales were so small as to discourage him.

I do not think it will be worth while to send more of your books here at present; but I think it will be for your interest to have them in the hands of a bookseller. Though Fenno has advertised them faithfully (and *gratis too*), they do not sell, which I ascribe to my living in an inconvenient part of the city, and too remote from the theatre of business. Evans cannot help being an enthusiast, as he is such by nature.

Judge Breese desires me to thank you very particularly for your "excellent sermon." It is much approved here by our serious folks. I congratulate you on your doctorate. Pray do you find any remarkable increase of theological knowledge in consequence of it? In this instance, I think the University has acted wisely; but it is much to be regretted that academical honours, and especially doctorates, have been so lavishly bestowed. This is a general remark, and not to be confined to Cambridge.

The enclosed certificate ought to have been sent you sooner.

Since my last, I have received Apollos to complete my set to No. 27 inclusive, and some supernumerary ones, which I now return you. Mrs. Hazard and Sam are at Shrewsbury. I am

Yours affectionately, EBEN. HAZARD.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

BOSTON, August 22, 1792.

DEAR SIR, — Yours of the 7th inst. came to hand yesterday; and I have since, with some difficulty, procured Philadelphia bank-bills to the amount of 35 dollars, and branch bills to 30 dollars. Of these latter I had some scruple whether to send them or not, till, conversing with Mr. Russel, he told me that the Philadelphia Bank would take those bills, which are endorsed by him, in exchange for

others.* I have an opportunity of sending these by Alexander Hodgden, Esq., late Treasurer of this Commonwealth, and my landlord, a very worthy gentleman, and good friend of mine, who will deliver them to you, and take your receipt.

I have received about 10 or 15 dollars more on your account, which I cannot conveniently get exchanged at so short notice, therefore will keep them as a nest egg. I am, dear sir,

Your friend and servant,

JERE. BELKNAP.

Pray put my books into the hands of Dobson, and let him have commissions on the sales.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

BOSTON, August 27, 1792.

DEAR SIR, — Last week I sent you 65 dollars in bank bills, by Mr. Hodgden, our late Treasurer, and my good friend. It is possible you may receive this first, as Mr. H. will stay some days at New York.

I have 27 of your books yet on hand, and I believe Mr. White has 8 or 9 in his bookstore. I have kept an advertisement in two of the papers for several weeks, and have sent copies of it enclosed to each subscriber, which in some cases has proved a good hint, in others has not been attended to.

As you made use of the penny-post to deliver my books in Philadelphia, I have thought of something of the same kind; viz., that you should make out bills, leaving a blank for the name of the subscriber, and an *order* at the bottom of each bill, leaving a blank for the name of the person to

* How could there be any scruple about sending the bills of the Branch Bank of the United States, established at Boston? — EDS.

whom the payment is to be made, and sign the order yourself. Then I will employ a man to deliver the books and receive the pay, to whom you must allow some commission. If this plan suits you, send me the bills as soon as you please; but let not my name appear in any of them. There should not be less than 40; for, although there are not quite so many books on hand, nor so many subscribers delinquent, yet possibly some of the bills may be mislaid, and may need to be renewed. If you adopt the same mode in other places, it may be best to have *printed* blanks.

Mr. Miller has informed me that, in the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, a question was put, "whether those who believe in the doctrine of universal salvation are to be admitted to the ordinances and privileges of the Christian Church?" and that it was determined in the negative. If the records of that body are open, I should be much obliged by your procuring for me a copy of this vote, authenticated by the proper officer; and, if you can tell me any of the circumstances of the transaction, I shall be gratified.

You have, according to the custom in such cases, congratulated me on a certain academical feather which has lately been stuck in my cap. I thank you for your goodwill, but I should have been much better pleased if there had been no occasion for this exercise of it; and, had I been apprized that such a thing was meditated, I would have suppressed it in embryo. I was first alarmed with it whilst attending a meeting of the Overseers, by the Secretary reading a vote of the Corporation, and presenting it to the board for their concurrence. I would even then have objected to it, but was informed that some of my best friends, who had privately moved it in the Corporation, would be much hurt; so I found myself obliged to consent to the sacrifice. The only consolations that attend it are that it is not of *my* seeking, and that no *fees*

were paid for it. If there is any honour in it, it must arise from this: that it was conferred by those who know me best, and not by a foreign university. To your question whether I do not experience an accession of theological knowledge in consequence of it, I cannot give a *serious* answer.

Perhaps you have the same idea of a doctorate that you have of a pumpkin, — that its belly is full of seed, which may, if properly managed, yield a large crop? If so, you must wait another season before I shall be prepared to give you an answer; for all depends on *cultivation*. To be, as Pope says, "stuck o'er with titles," is what I never coveted. I have an ambition only to be useful in the world, and the thing which I most dread is to live so long as to be past doing any good.

I am pleased that my Sermon is approved. If you think you could dispose of any of them to advantage, either by sale or gift, any number that you please shall be sent.

My labour for the 23d October is nearly accomplished. I find myself obliged to dip deeper into antiquity than I was at first aware, but I think I can vindicate Columbus against those who would rob him of his fame, not excepting *M. Otto*.

My best regards to your family.

Your sincere friend,

JEREMY BELKNAP.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

PHILADELPHIA, September 9, 1792.

MY DEAR SIR, — I sat down to write to you on Friday evening, as Mr. Hodgson was to leave town yesterday morning, but was prevented by company's coming in. Having seen him at church to-day, I snatch a moment to acknowledge the receipt of your letters. From your

account of Mr. Walcutt, I take him to be a singular character; but he ought, notwithstanding, to allow others to testify their gratitude for the favours he confers. However, we must take the world as we find it. Maybe he may want something done here; and then, remember, I am his man. I don't know what to think of Carey's collection, but very much doubt his succeeding. That *he* should be admitted to the *secret journals* of the Old Congress, would be extraordinary indeed.

It is said to be true that C. Thompson is engaged in a new translation of the Bible. Whether it will be either profitable to himself or edifying to others, time must determine; but it appears to me very doubtful. The Bible seems to be an object of great attention of late. We have had, within a few years, five American editions of it that I can reckon up; and now Dobson and some others have published proposals for a new edition, in 2 large volumes folio!

I am glad to find that you are engaged in preparing a *Century Sermon*, though it will probably prove a difficult task, — the facts, the important facts, which ought to be mentioned, are so numerous, and the time allotted to recite them in so short. You have this in your favour: that the present generation will give an historical discourse a much more patient attention than a sermon on the distinguishing doctrines of the Gospel. You have another advantage, which is that the copy prepared for the press may be enlarged with the addition of such things as time would not admit to be properly noticed when the discourse was delivered. I take it for granted that the discourse is to be printed; and, as I think it will sell, I suggest the thought of publishing a pretty large edition, as what will probably yield you (or the Society) an handsome profit.

I thank you for the hints of what is said about my book. From these, I find I have gone on too extensive a plan. Hutchinson, I knew, was in many hands. So are

other books; and yet they are comparatively in so few, that many people know nothing of them, except by the hearing of the ear, and they may be said to be *out of print*, with hardly a probability of their being reprinted. For this reason, my intention was to make a *general*, and, as nearly as I could, a *complete* collection; but shall in future confine myself more to original and excessively scarce (though printed) papers. The Records of the United Colonies will occupy a principal part, if not the whole, of the 2d volume. My encouragement to proceed is but small; and yet I have so far committed myself that I must go on, *hoping* not only for profits, but even for repayment of expences.

Mr. Miller stands high in the estimation of our serious folks, and has been *talked* of as an assistant for Dr. Sproat and Dr. Green.

As there was no private conveyance, the letter for Sargent was left at the War Office, and I expect will go *free*.

Poyntell's name on the thermometer was a *trick:* he is the *shopkeeper* in 2d Street. He has no more, with ivory scales, but I can probably find one somewhere else.

The money by Mr. Hodgden came safe to hand. Enclosed is Dobson's receipt for it. I desired Mr. Daniel Waldo, Jr., of Worcester, to pay you 4 dollars for me. Please to receive it.

I will put your books into Dobson's hands, as you desire.

The Apollo has come to hand very irregularly. Nos. 28, 29, 30, and 31, have not been received. I have got 32, 33, 34, and 35. Who was Gookins?

Mrs. H. and family are in usual health.

We have had a refreshing rain this afternoon, but the season hitherto has been remarkably dry: it is said that the buckwheat and Indian corn have suffered much. I am, my dear sir,

Your friend and humble servant,

EBEN. HAZARD.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

PHILADELPHIA, October 8, 1792.

DEAR SIR, — The 65 dollars by Mr. Hodgdon, and the 25 by Mr. Gray, came safely to hand. They have both been paid to Mr. Dobson, whose receipt for the first I suppose you have, and for the latter will receive by Mr. Gray. I take the receipts from Dobson (instead of sending you my own), because, as he sent the collections to you, he has charged you with them in his books; and, by our agreement, he is to have all the money received until he is paid for the printing.

I am so hurried with getting my building ready to go into by the middle of next month, and other things, that I cannot make out the bills you mention yet, though I think the plan a good one; but perhaps it would now be unseasonable. You will see in the enclosed minutes what you refer to about universal salvation. The "circumstances," I am informed, were nothing more than that some members wished for the opinion of the Assembly merely for the regulation of their own conduct, and therefore asked the question, which was immediately and unanimously answered, as you see. I understand that they proceeded upon some such principles or reasoning as this: Every church is composed of persons holding particular sentiments, who form themselves into a society, under certain regulations for their government. While those individuals belong to that society, they must be bound by those regulations, and retain the essential doctrines which formed the basis of their union; otherwise, divisions will be introduced and offences will come. If, therefore, they publicly profess contrary sentiments, they cannot be considered as members of that church, nor entitled to its privileges, but are at liberty to withdraw them-

selves from the society, and join with any other they may prefer, that will admit them.

I knew you too well to suppose you had made any interest to get the academical feather. You gave me your sentiments of such honours, pretty fully, on a former occasion. They are truly baubles; and yet they have their influence, and will have it, unless they are prostituted and become too common. The Faculty of New Jersey College appear to be aware of this, and therefore, at the late Commencement, conferred no doctorates in divinity, although several were applied for, and the candidates were well recommended. Perhaps this was going too far?

I cannot yet find a thermometer with an *ivory* scale. Last Saturday week I had a fine son added to my family. Both mother and child are doing very well. Upon this occasion we propose to set up our *Ebenezer* in memory of divine goodness. Mrs. Hazard joins me in love to Mrs. Belknap and yourself.

How shall I get the Apollos regularly? T'other day I received Nos. 36 and 38 together; but No. 37 has not come to hand. I see an alteration is proposed. Let me be considered as a subscriber for the *publications of the Historical Society* only.

Mr. Gray has made himself very agreeable to those with whom he has become acquainted here. I am, dear sir,

Your friend, EBEN. HAZARD.

P. S. In consequence of an hint I furnished, our General Assembly have ordered materials to be collected for an history of the Presbyterian Church in America, with a view to publication hereafter. The first minister of that denomination in this city was a Mr. Andrews, who preached in the church, now Dr. Ewing's. He was originally, as I am informed, a Congregationalist, and came from New England, — it is supposed from New Hampshire.

Have you ever heard of such an emigrant? or is it probable that you can procure me any information about him? If you can, I will thank you for it.

Business in the stocks has become so dull that I find it necessary to add some other employment to it; and therefore, with the advice of my friends, am entering more into the mercantile line. I propose to receive consignments of vessels, and goods for sale, and orders to purchase here on commission. If any of your friends are in the way of sending goods to this market, or ordering goods from hence, you will oblige me by informing them that I am at their service. *Inter nos*, I have not mentioned this to Mr. Morse, because I do not want (for particular reasons) to be mentioned to his Deacon L. and partner, H.; but I shall be very glad to receive consignments from any other merchants there. Perhaps you can manage this matter, without being too particular.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

Boston, October 27, 1792.

My dear Sir, — The evening before last I wrote to you by Mr. Wingate, who then made me a short visit, and left me to write my letters in the last of the evening. I believe I noticed all that your last letter contained. I will now mention one thing suggested by yours of September 9th. You there advised me to print "a large edition" of my *Century* Sermon, a subscription for which is now filling very fast in this town. I had thoughts of printing about 1,100, but have been persuaded to increase it to 1,500. Brother Morse, who you know is very sanguine, says 2 or 3,000; but I am not so much of an adventurer as he is. However, I suppose 1,500 will be the number, and that they will be finished in about three weeks. I shall send some to you, for Dobson to sell. It is *possible*, I say

possible, that more may be wanted in Philadelphia than I shall send; and, if so, perhaps it may not be improper for you to suggest to Dobson that he might venture an edition there, with my permission. Should this idea be acceptable, I now give you full power to agree with him on terms, as my attorney or agent, only with this exception, that I do not wish to take my share in books or sheets, because I can have enough more printed here, if they are wanted. The performance, I find, is very acceptable and popular here. The subject and the occasion are new, and will not be repeated in less than another century. If it be needful, I can send the sheets to you before the whole is completed. But this I leave to your judgment and discretion.

Mr. Waldo has paid me 4 dollars on your account. I am in no hurry for the thermometer. When you can light on such an one as will suit me, I shall be glad to have it.

The small-pox has hindered me from getting any more copies of New Hampshire bound or done in blue, but I have now some doing at the bookbinder's, and will send some to you for Dobson's shop, with some of the Foresters. It is beginning to leak out, here, who is the author. Our friend the *Freemason** guessed it, and charged me with it in such a manner that it was impossible any longer to secrete it from *him*. To how many he has whispered it, I know not; for I gave him no injunction of secrecy.

The bearer of this is a Mr. Brown, a young candidate of middling genius, good nature, and good character. He will expect me to give him some letters, and I shall give him one to you. You will find him a harmless being and a tolerable preacher. I wish to avoid troubling you in this way, and have, in some instances, evaded applications

* The Rev. John Eliot. — Eds.

of the kind. This gentleman has been preaching at Newburyport, as an assistant to the famous John Murray,* who is infirm with the dropsy and asthma.

Good luck to your Ebenezer, and safe restoration to his mother, to whom present the love of Mrs. B. and

Your affectionate friend,

J. Belknap.

Mr. Randolph is elected a Corresponding Member of our Society.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

Boston, Nov. 6, 1792.

Dear Sir, — My last to you was by Mr. Brown, a young preacher, in which I enclosed a subscription paper for my Centennary Discourse, and mentioned, as a thing possible, that *perhaps* an edition of it might be sold in Philadelphia and the Southern States by Thomas Dobson; and I authorized you to make such terms with him as you should think would be for my advantage. That you may the better judge of the merit of the work, I shall enclose with this letter as many of the sheets as are now struck off, and will be, before the next post; which, as I enclose both to Mr. Wingate, will first come into his hands, from whom you will receive them. Should such an edition be made, you will be particularly careful to have the agreement reduced to writing, and to have a note inserted in the title-page, that it is printed either *for*, or *by permission*, of the author; otherwise some other printer may think he has the same right. And let not the Clerk's certificate be omitted. If Dobson will not undertake it, perhaps Fenno

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* A well-known Presbyterian minister, who died in the following year. His religious opinions were so diametrically opposed to those of his namesake, the Universalist preacher, that these two divines were distinguished from each other as "Salvation Murray" and "Damnation Murray." — Eds.

may. Either will be acceptable to me, if the terms which you make are complied with.

In a former letter, you asked me about Gookin, the author of the Indian History. You have doubtless, before now, seen some account of him subjoined to that work. The account was collected and drawn up by Mr. Freeman, Fenno's brother-in-law, who is a very industrious member of our Historical Society.

I told Jo to send you the missing number of the *Apollo*, and I suppose he has done it: if not, let me know, and it shall be sent.

A vessel will sail in about 10 or 12 days for Philadelphia, on board of which I shall put a few copies of N. H. and of the Foresters, directed to you, which you will put into Dobson's shop for sale, on my account.

I wish the matter of the edition proposed may be concluded soon, and that I may have *early notice* of it, because I shall then be able to judge what number of copies of the discourse I may send to Philadelphia. If no edition will be made there, I wish for a return of the subscription papers with the *early notice*. I suppose the printing will be finished next week, if the weather holds good to dry the paper which is making at Dorchester. These first 5 half-sheets are on the remainder of my Philadelphia paper, of which I had 8 rheams left.

My second dissertation is intended as an answer to a Memoir of M. Otto, in the second volume of Philosophical Transactions. Mr. Wingate has heard me read it, and can give you some account of it. The 3d and 4th dissertations are the same, for substance, which were printed in Carey's Museum, though with some additions. The 1st is entirely new, and is intended to establish the ancient circumnavigation of the African Continent.

We have a great dearth of news from France, though it is probable some important events have taken place since the last date.

I hope this will find Mrs. Hazard, with her Ebenezer, and all the other young Hazards, in good health. We are so at present, and wish you and yours all the felicity which you wish for yourselves.

Your affectionate friend,

JEREMY BELKNAP.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

PHILADELPHIA, November 14, 1792.

MY DEAR SIR, — I have received your letters by Mr. Wingate and Mr. Brown.

My Ebenezer is removed from earth to heaven. He had fits, and we supposed him to be dying for two days; but he recovered, and began to thrive cleverly, which encouraged us to hope he had got well. The fits returned after some days, and in less than 24 hours removed him from time into eternity, on the day which compleated the fifth week of his age. His days were few, and full of evil, but eternal joys will amply compensate his pains; and we ought not to repine at his being so soon put into possession of them.

Mrs. Hazard was confined six weeks, and is yet feeble, but gains strength daily. We sympathize with Mrs. Belknap in her affliction.

I have not yet been able to get a complete set of the Minutes of our Assembly for myself, but am in quest of them, and will endeavour to procure duplicates for you. Are not *opinions* large stones in the foundation of Christian Societies? All profess faith in Christ, but one believes transubstantiation, another consubstantiation, another neither: one thinks this mode of church government the most Scriptural, another that; and is it not on these and similar *opinions* that the societies are formed?

Your letter gives us the only hint we have yet received of Mr. Morse's second son.

I am informed that Mr. Andrews came from *Connecticut.* It is not probable that there will be many *subscribers* here for your Sermon, but I think they will sell when printed. It appears to me that 1,500 will be a suitable number to print for one edition. But are *you* to be at the expence? If I find they sell, I will suggest the idea of a second edition to Dobson.

I thought you could not long conceal yourself as the author of the Foresters. Fenno pitched upon you at once.

Mr. Brown answers your description of him. This is to go by him. Give our love to Mrs. B. Good-night.

EBEN. HAZARD.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

BOSTON, November 20, 1792.

DEAR SIR, — With this you will receive a small box, containing 6 sets, in boards, of the History of New Hampshire, and nine copies of the Foresters, which was all that the box would hold. You will be so good as to put them into Dobson's hands, for sale. The selling price here, of the Foresters, is 3*s.* 9*d.*; the History, 22*s.* 6*d.* This week the Century Sermon will be published here. I have sent you the sheets per post, enclosed to Mr. Wingate, excepting 3, which I shall send by the post this week; and, if the vessel should delay till Thursday, I may put up a bundle of the discourses, that some may be vended at Philadelphia, in case Mr. Dobson should not think fit to reprint it.

Your affectionate friend, JEREMY BELKNAP.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

Boston, 8th December, 1792.

Dear Sir, — I waited for an answer to my proposal of a 2d edition of my Century Discourse, that I might know how many it would be proper to send to Philadelphia. Yours by Mr. Brown came to hand about a week ago, and by it I perceive your mind is that, "if they sell well, you will propose to Dobson a second edition." I then immediately determined to send 2 or 3 dozen, but, on enquiry, found no vessel bound for Philadelphia, and am told that none will sail from hence for your port. This is rather singular. They used to keep on going till Christmas; but now they have done near a month sooner. This is a disappointment to me, and I know not how to send more than half a dozen, which is a package full large enough for the mail, and under cover to Mr. Wingate. I now send six in that way, which you will dispose of as follows: one to Mr. Wingate, one to Mr. George Thatcher, subscribers; one to Dr. Rush, one to the Secretary of State (for which I wish a receipt), one to Philosophical Society, one to yourself. Should any opportunity present, I will send more; but I do not expect any till spring. In the mean time, I doubt not you will say what you can in favour of reprinting it, if you judge it adviseable.

I am grieved for the loss of your Ebenezer, because I think it would have been a great satisfaction and pleasure to you if he had lived; but he is safely lodged in that apartment of the universe which is destined to receive infant humanity, and preserve it from the contagion of the present state, that it may be introduced with greater advantage into a more exalted sphere, and that its faculties may expand and improve, by the most rapid degrees, in a superior world. Let Mrs. Hazard know that Mrs. B. and I sympathize with her on account of this affliction.

Brother Morse is deeply engaged in a 2d edition of his Geography, and is taking pains to render it more complete than the former. But this is a science which will ever be improving, and will ever need amendments.

Mr. Wingate is chosen a representative of New Hampshire in the next Congress.

Pray let me know if the box which I sent arrives safe, and how the books are disposed of. I beg you will take one set of the History and one copy of the Foresters to yourself, as a token of my regard and gratitude.

Your 1st volume remains exactly as when I wrote last. Not one has been called for since. I am, dear sir,

Your friend and servant, JERE. BELKNAP.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

PHILADELPHIA, February 2, 1793.

DEAR SIR, — Since my last, I have received yours enclosing the *Presbyterian* letters, for which I thank you. They will be useful. Should any thing else of the kind occur, I shall be happy in receiving it. Will not your own Church Book furnish me with some materials? Was not *yours* formerly a Presbyterian Church? Do favour me with that part of its history. When did it begin? When did it cease to be Presbyterian? Who were its ministers during that period? From whence came they? How long did each continue? With what Presbytery or Synod were they connected?

Can you tell when Presbyterians first came into New England, from whence, and for what cause; whether in consequence of persecution, or not? I shall be obliged to you for any information you can give which will do to insert in the history in contemplation.

Mr. Wingate paid me, some time ago, seven dollars and an half, on your behalf, but could not tell for what

particular use. Will you inform me? I delivered the subscription for Dr. Barton's book to Dobson.

My 2d volume is in the press. We have got to K. I have 2 sheets a day to correct.

We have had a very uncommon winter thus far, — no snow worth mentioning till the 30th ultimo, and that is melting very fast. The weather now is quite moderate. Love to Mrs. B. from Mrs. H. and

Your friend, EBEN. HAZARD.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

BOSTON, March 2, 1793.

MY DEAR SIR, — I have seen sometimes, in inspecting my son's papers, that he receives by the post *Dunlap's Daily Advertiser;** and it appears to me to be the best collection of historical matter, in the *en passant* way, that is printed anywhere. I have therefore thought of mentioning to our Historical Society the procuring a regular set of these papers, from the beginning, if they can be had, but certainly for the future. Now, to prepare the way, I wish you to inform me: —

1. How long this paper has been printed?

2. Whether a complete set, *ab initio*, can be had, and at what price? or how many volumes of it?

3. What is the price per annum?

4. Whether you would take the trouble of receiving them daily, and preserving them in *folio* order, so that we may have them in such parcels as may be convenient to send by water, say monthly, quarterly, or half-yearly, as circumstances permit? Perhaps Mr. D., on being acquainted with our institution, might *give* us his paper in future, as Mr. Fenno does, and several other printers. If

* See this Society's Catalogue, II. 217, under "Pennsylvania Packet," &c. — EDS.

you think it probable, I would write to him, and send him a circular letter, unless you will undertake it for me.

By a letter which I have just received from the Vice-president of the United States, I am informed that Dr. Barton has presented to the Philosophical Society at Philadelphia a memoir on the subject of the Honey Bee, in opposition to what I wrote in the appendix to my Discourse, on the question whether that insect be a native of America. He says I am treated with respect, but his opinion is in favour of Mr. Jefferson's. I wish to have a copy of that memoir, if it can be procured; and I know of no person more likely to procure it than yourself. Send it to me by the next vessel. This is the second attack which has been made on my performance *in public*. I have, also, two or three private antagonists. I wish to collect *all* that has been or may be said against any of the opinions advanced in that pamphlet before I determine whether it be best to make any reply to them separately or in the lump.

Let me know whether the parcel I sent by Smith's vessel (I forget the master's name) be arrived, and whether they have been advertised in your papers. I do not expect a very sudden sale, but perhaps they may go off in time.

The Foresters have become a clever article in the shops, and the author has the pleasure of hearing people compliment themselves on their sagacity in making the discovery. Adieu.

Yours affectionately, JERE. BELKNAP.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

PHILADELPHIA, March 2, 1793.

MY DEAR SIR, — By the Abby, Captain Eames, I received yours of 8th ultimo, with account enclosed, the packet of Apollos, and the bundle of your Discourses. When I removed, I was obliged to pack up my books, papers, &c., and (as my new house, being unfinished, did not afford room enough for us) to leave them so. They are in this situation yet, so that I cannot compare your account with mine, but apprehend it is right. The 6 setts of the History and 9 copies of the Foresters, charged November 20th, 1792, and the Discourses on the Discovery of America, now received, are in Dobson's hands. Of the latter, there were 49. You charge but 4 dozen.

Cornelia is much obliged to you for the copy of your Discourse sent her, and desires me to tell you so. Her little son is well. We are very sorry to hear of Mrs. Belknap's illness, but hope, as she was convalescent when you wrote, she will be perfectly recovered when you receive this.

Thank you for the further hints about Jedediah Andrews. The congregation are now busy pulling down the old church in which he preached, and intend building an handsome new one in its place.

Perhaps the divulging of the secret respecting the author of the Foresters may assist the sale of the *History*. With this view, I propose to lay my copy of the former on the table of the Insurance Office, as a *subject of conversation*.

The Society's circular letters are distributing. I wish I could comply with the request to the Corresponding Members; but what can I do? Nothing at present. May be the time may come when I shall be able to do something. I will, at least, comfort myself with the hope. When I

began to copy the Records of the United Colonies, I found in the same book a copy of the agreement about the boundaries between Plymouth and Massachusetts Colonies, which I transcribed. I send it to you that, if you think it will serve any valuable purpose, it may be preserved. It was crossed to prevent Dobson's printing it, and I have not time to copy it.

A party in Congress, who appear to have some sinister purposes to serve, have lately made a serious attack upon the Secretary of the Treasury, with a view to his removal from office. The newspapers will acquaint you with the "resolutions" they drew up against him. The business was finished in Congress last night, and terminated much to the Secretary's honour, there being a very great majority in his favour. Although a man of the Secretary's abilities and integrity need not fear an investigation of his official conduct, and a consciousness of rectitude would support him under the severest scrutiny, yet his sensibility must be wounded by the public and wanton attacks of the petulant and malicious. Time, it is true, will make his innocence appear; but what compensation has he for the interruption of his peace? Taking advantage of Congressional prerogative, a fool can ask more questions in a day than a wise man can answer in a month; and yet, should such an one be sent to Congress, every head of a department lies at his mercy. Answer him according to his folly, he grows angry, runs to tell Congress, and, to be sure, the officer must be dismissed, to put the gentleman in good humour again. I would almost as soon be a Virginia negro as a public officer under such a master. A knave can do at least as much mischief as a fool; and experience has shewn that neither will hesitate about the means for accomplishing their ends. I hope that neither knaves nor fools will ever be sent to Congress.

Mrs. H. sits yet in the corner. She has been three months confined by a sore ancle; and, after being wearied

out with medical prescriptions, with little prospect of a cure, she has at length applied to a woman from whose experience in such disorders we hope for more success.

We cordially salute yourself and Mrs. B. Adieu.

Your friend,

EBEN. HAZARD.

P. S. This was to have been sent by Mr. Wingate; but I mistook the contents of his note, which, upon a second reading, I find mentions that he is to leave town *this*, instead of *to-morrow*, morning.

My house is No. 145 Mulberry (Arch) Street. Our office is 119 South Front Street.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

BOSTON, March 20, 1793.

MY DEAR SIR, — Your favour of the 2d inst. was brought, I believe, by Mr. George Thatcher. It arrived seasonably, though you missed sending it by Mr. Wingate, who was so fatigued by his journey that he did not call to see me; and, as I happened to preach at Dorchester (Mattapan) on the Sunday that he was in town, I did not see him at all. I rejoice that the Secretary has baffled his opponents. I think him an extraordinary man, and this is a grand stroke in his character.

I have a large bundle of Dr. Colman's papers, which I have not had time to examine; but, if there should be any thing more relative to the Presbyterian Church, I will communicate it. By this vessel, Eames, I send a parcel of my *novel*, as it is here called, and a few more Century Discourses. Some of each I wish may be put into the hands of William Spotswood for sale, if he pleases to take them. I have written him a letter, and set the prices *to him;* viz., 5 dollars per dozen for the Discourses,

and 3*s.* 4*d.* (half a crown) for the Foresters. The former are sold here, at retail, for 3*s.*; the latter, 3*s.* 9*d.*, in blue boards. Spotswood is the only one of the old proprietors of the Columbian Magazine in whose correspondence I had any pleasure. I think him a clever fellow.*

Please to give Cornelia one of the Foresters in my name, and accompanied with my affectionate regards.

We are still uncertain whether Louis XVI. is Louis *Capet* or Louis *sine capite;* but I hope, if he is yet living, he will not be put to death by the sanguinary faction.

As vessels are now frequently passing, I hope to hear from you often. No more of your 1st volume are yet sold than when I sent the account, nor have I yet received the pay for the three that Mr. White sold. As this gentleman is going to England this spring, I shall get Mr. David West to take some of your books into his shop, No. 36 Marlboro Street, near the Secretary's office, which you well know. When you send the 2d volume, I think it will be well to send a printed circular billet to subscribers for the 1st, which I will distribute to *all* of them; and perhaps some who did not regard my advertisement, sent as aforesaid, may treat yours with more respect. Dr. Brown, of Halifax, has written to me for the character of the book. I expect he will send for one.

I am sorry to hear that Mrs. Hazard continues confined. Mrs. B. is this day going to ride, for the first time. She joins in cordial salutations to yourself and Mrs. H., with, dear sir,

Yours affectionately, JERE. BELKNAP.

Please to let my History of New Hampshire, Century Discourse, and the Foresters, be duly advertised to be sold by Dobson and Spotswood. Should any more of either be wanted, please to give me the earliest information.

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* A number of the letters of William Spotswood are among Dr. Belknap's miscellaneous correspondence. — EDS.

The paper relative to the boundary between Massachusetts and Plymouth Colonies is on file in the Historical Society. Mr. John Davis, who succeeds Cotton as keeper of the Old Colony Records, is one of our members, and a very good one. If Scotus has a mind to take any of the books for sale, you may let him have them at the same price with Spotswood.

Sent by the Abby, sloop, Captain Eames, March 20th, 1793, 1 dozen Century Discourses, at 2*s.* 6*d.*, $5; 2 dozen Foresters, at 3*s.* 4*d.*, $13.33.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

Boston, 23d March, 1793.

Dear Sir, — I shipped some books for you by a vessell which sailed, I suppose, yesterday. Enclosed is the receipt, which I send by General Lincoln, who told me he was about setting off for Philadelphia to receive his orders from the President of United States relative to the Treaty with the Indians, which I wish may be successful.

We have had a great bluster here about *liberty and equality;* and, as a specimen how far our tradesmen are advanced in this science, I will give you an anecdote, with which you may make Judge Breese laugh, when you see him.

One of our 6 per cent fortune-makers, who was formerly a *tailor*, met a blacksmith in the Long Wharf, who presented him with his bill for sundries. The *ci-devant tailor* was very much affronted, and began to scold at the blacksmith for interrupting him in his business, and dunning him in so public a place. The smith, in the true style of equality, replied, "Come, come, citizen prick-louse, do not give yourself such airs as these! It was but t'other day that you was glad to measure my a—— for a pair of breeches."

Mrs. B. is so far recovered as to ride out, and seems to be very comfortable. I hope this will find Mrs. H. on her legs again. My best regards to her.

Your friend, JERE. BELKNAP.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

PHILADELPHIA, April 6, 1793.

DEAR SIR, — I have yours of 2d, 20th, and 23d ultimo. In answer to your enquiries about Dunlap's paper, it was begun before the war, I think in 1772, but not continued during the war. I have asked D. if a complete set can be procured. His reply was that he did not think there was a complete set for sale in the world. The price is a half Jo. (48*s.* lawful) per annum. It is a daily paper. If the Society wish to have it, I will receive and forward it. I have, in my collection, a sett which is pretty regular, from the beginning to within a few years of this time; but, on account of my books being packed up, I cannot give you an exact account of it. Owing to irregularity in conveyance, and other causes, there is here and there a paper missing; but, upon the whole, it is *tolerably* complete. It was my intention to dispose of all my newspapers (about 100 volumes) together, and I have partly promised a gentleman the refusal of them; but, if the Society wish to have Dunlap's as far as they go (and perhaps I may be able to collect the others for them), I will let them have them at the same price I ask for the whole together, — viz., 50*s.* this currency ($6\frac{2}{3}$ dollars), per volume. The early volumes contain, I think, three years' papers each, and the later ones (since it has been a daily paper) half a year. The volumes are half bound, and some of them cost me more than I ask for them. I would

give them to the Society, but can't afford it. Mr. D. will not do as you tell me Mr. Fenno does.

Dr. Barton has presented the Memoir you mention. I was not at that meeting of the Society; but the Doctor mentioned it to me afterwards, and promised me he would send you a copy of the Memoir. He differs from you in opinion about the Honey Bee.

I received the "Novels" and "Century Discourses" by Eames, and Spotswood informs me he will take some for sale. He mentioned that they had been in town some time, some having been sent here by Thomas.

Poor Louis is undoubtedly "sine capite," and ——

[July 27.]

. . . Between April 6th and July 27th, there must be an *hiatus*, for I have not *this* day a recollection of what I intended to say more on *that*.

As you love antiquities, I send you the foregoing. Dunlap's publication commenced in October, 1773. Dr. Barton has given me a copy of his Memoir for you, which I send herewith. I delivered some Foresters and Century Discourses to Spotswood. It is probable that you have heard from him before now.

I feel ashamed that our correspondence has been so long interrupted; but, were you to see my situation, you would not be surprized at it. I am seldom with my family, except at meal-times and while I am asleep, and frequently do not leave the office before 9 at night. Perhaps I perform works of supererogation, but it seems to be necessary at present. If business continues to encrease as it has done, assistance will be necessary.

The printing of my 2d volume has been finished, I believe, two months; and the publication is retarded only by the want of an index. This I have been engaged in, and am yet; but, as I can work at it only before breakfast, and there is great variety in the Records of the United

Colonies, I can go on but slowly. However, "Nil tam difficile est, quod non solertia vincat;" and I expect, by perseverance, to get through before long.

Are you yet supplied with a thermometer? I can now get you one with an *ivory* scale.

I see, by the Centinel, that my cousin Morse has been attacked. He seems to have the luck of it. I have but lately received his Geography, though his letter accompanying it is dated in *May*. But, from what I have yet seen of it, I think it the best thing of the kind that I have met with, even though Mayhew's and other great men's names are omitted. I intend to advise him, if he prints another edition, not to confine himself so much to Guthrie's Table, but to form one of his own, and that relating principally to *American* events and literati. I am surprized at *his* omitting the Indian apostle Elliot, whose translation of the Bible one would suppose would never be forgotten, on such an occasion, by a *divine*.

Mrs. H. and two of our children are at Shrewsbury. They have been from home three weeks; and, when they went to Shrewsbury, had but just returned from Bethlehem. Change of air and exercise are thought necessary both for Mrs. H. and our daughter, who is in an infirm state. Our eldest son is at an academy, at Woodbury, in New Jersey, about 9 miles from hence; and I receive pleasing accounts of him.

I beg an affectionate remembrance to Mrs. Belknap, and am, dear sir,

Your sincere friend,

EBEN. HAZARD.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

Boston, July 22, 1793.

Dear Sir, — It is a long time since I heard from you. I suppose you are so immersed in business that you have no time to write. I believe that some questions which I asked you have not been answered, but I have forgot them. If you have my former letters at hand, you may recover them.

I have lately been obliged to remove to the South End, and now reside opposite to where the old Liberty Tree once stood. In removing, I was obliged to borrow a trunk to contain the remainder of your 1st volume, in which they still remain, in my study.

David West is willing to be your bookseller, but does not incline to take these books into his possession. He says he has not room, and it is probable that most of them must be returned. However, when your 2d volume comes out, he will receive and dispose of it for you. You had better, therefore, send the packet directly to him. I am too far removed out of the way to take charge of them, but will give him the subscription list. (The number is 45; but some of the subscribers are removed, and others have not taken the books. I think 40 will be enough to send of the 2d volume.) It is very uncomfortable to be tossed about, and give such high rent. To avoid it in future, I have bargained for a lot, and am meditating the building of a house, if I cannot buy one to my mind. It is said by somebody (I forget who) that 4 things are necessary to make a *man:* 1. That he should plant a tree. 2. That he should write a book. 3. That he should get a child. 4. That he should build a house. The three former I have done several times over. The last remains to complete the character of a man. I suppose you have completed it.

Enclosed with this I send you one of Pater West's books on "Liberty and Necessity." It is intended to sap the foundation of the Hopkinsian Theology.

Mrs. B. and family are in tolerable health, and desire their affectionate regards to you and yours. I am, dear sir,

Your friend and humble servant,

JERE. BELKNAP.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

PHILADELPHIA, August 27, 1793.

MY DEAR SIR, — Our friend Morse brought me yours of 22d ultimo. It gave me pleasure to hear from you, and I felt satisfaction in the reflection that I had written to you, though I found, by yours, that you had not received my letter.

I know how to sympathize with you on account of your trouble in removing, and your disagreeable situation as a tenant, in being subject to a repetition of it. That vile business of removing has deranged all my methodical system, and confused my papers in such a manner that it costs me much time to find any one I want; but, should my life be spared, I shall have them in better order than ever, for I have now an house of my own, in which I have a small, snug, retired room, appropriated to my own use. My carpenter has made me a case, in which are a shelf to hold account books, 24 pidgeon-holes for current papers, and 14 drawers, of different sizes, to contain papers which are done with for the present, but may be called for hereafter; the whole enclosed, and a good lock to the door.

Having done with my index to volume 2, I intend to devote the morning, before breakfast (which is all the time I have), to folding, marking, and sorting my papers;

and, when this is accomplished, I shall feel a little more comfortable. My library is already arranged.

If you can spare money to buy a lot and build an house, I think you would find it worth while, even though the interest of the money should amount to more than you could hire an house for. In this way my rent amounts to about £240, this currency, which is more than I have ever paid before; but I have an excellent house, built to suit my own convenience. I am not called on for rent, and cannot be removed; and I think these an ample compensation for the advanced rent. Yes, upon the plan you mention, I am more than a man; for, besides doing all the rest, I have built *five* houses.

"More than a man" reminds me of an Indian speech I found in the Minutes of Council of this State. A speaker, belonging to the 6 Nations, mentioned a treaty to which the Catawbas and Cherokees were invited. The Cherokees attended, but "the Catawbas refused to come, and sent us word that we were but women; that they were men, and double men; . . . that they could make women of us, and would be always at war with us."

With respect to my books, I wish you to do just as you think best. If you think they will not be called for, it will perhaps be best to return the most of them; and yet I should not like to have *none* in your market, because somebody or other may call for a sett. Suppose you should put a copy or two in the hands of each of your booksellers, in whom you can confide? The 2d volume shall be sent to David West, as you desire. Those folks with small shops are generally pushing, and sometimes take more pains to dispose of books than more important bibliopolists. If Mr. Appleton will not take the 2d volume, I should wish him to return the 1st. Every subscriber was undoubtedly considered as subscribing for the whole sett, and it will not do to let *one* volume go without the rest,

because it will spoil *a set.* Thank you for Pater West's pamphlet, which I shall endeavour to read attentively. I have a good opinion of him as a man of abilities and candour, but I confess I do not like his subject. The writers upon it that I have hitherto met with (as I suspect all others must) have but darkened counsel by words without knowledge.

This city is remarkably sickly at present. The prevailing disorder does not appear to be accurately defined or understood. It is highly infectious, and generally proves mortal. I do not know even the symptoms attending it. Many suppose it to have been imported, or occasioned by so many French coming in crowded vessels from Cape François. Others think it arises from the season, which has been remarkably dry and sultry; and we have had very little thunder. Query: whether the large number of conductors fixed to the houses in this city may not, by imperceptibly drawing off the electric fluid from the clouds, and thereby preventing thunder, contribute very much to increase diseases?

We have the influenza among us, too. Mrs. Hazard has it pretty severely, but I do not apprehend any great danger from it. The rest of us are well.

Pray is the publication of the Historical Society's Collections continued? I have not seen any of them for a long time. Herewith you will receive some duplicates.

Mr. Morse informs me that the 2d volume of the Academy's Transactions is in the press. I shall be glad of a copy, when published. Please to inform the editor of this.

With love to Mrs. Belknap, I am, dear sir,

Your sincere friend, EBEN. HAZARD.

HAZARD TO S. A. OTIS.*

PHILADELPHIA, October 12, 1793.

DEAR SIR, — Last week I received yours of the 6th inst. Yes, sir, here I am, with my family, in the midst of disease and death, which will, no doubt, surprize many; but Divine Providence had placed me in such a situation that it appeared evidently to be my duty to remain in town. This point being settled, I had no difficulty in determining what to do. I have always found the path of duty to be the way of safety; and, whilst I know that I walk in it, I can cheerfully commit all events to the Great Disposer of them.

I proposed to Mrs. Hazard to retire with the children to the country; but, considering all circumstances, she concluded that her situation would be certainly more comfortable, and perhaps equally safe, in the city as out of it. Going out of town was, at least, going away from the best medical help, and from a thousand conveniences, and perhaps necessaries, in sickness, which the city only affords, and I was to be left behind, so she concluded to remain with me.

We have had our share of the disorder, but it has been very moderate, compared with the sufferings of others. *I am recovered. Mrs. Hazard is so well as to be about house;* and were it not for her assiduity in administering to the necessities of others, and her consequent fatigue, *she would be quite well* by this time. Our daughter is sick, but not dangerously ill. A young woman who has lived with us a number of years, and a servant woman, have been very ill, but appear to be on the recovery. A German servant whom we lately purchased, and has been

* This letter is preserved among this correspondence in a copy made by Dr. Belknap. — EDS.

sick, we sent to the hospital at Bush Hill, and have had him restored to us in health.

We have had one death in our family, an old female, in her 73d year. She was warmly attached to me from my infancy; and, as the family she boarded with had removed into the country, I took her into mine, and had to perform the last act of friendship for her two days ago. Here you have a particular history of my family, — more so perhaps than would be justifiable, had I not *two friends* in view to whom it will be interesting, and to whom I request you particularly to communicate it: they are the Rev. Dr. Belknap, near Liberty Stump, and the Rev. Mr. Morse, of Charlestown.

Robert Heysham has been slightly disordered, but is among the living, and the *fat*, and, no doubt, will attend to your house: the situation of my own puts it out of my power.

Dr. Hutchinson, Mr. Sergeant, the lawyer, Mrs. Keppele, the Vice-president's landlady, the Rev. Dr. Rogers's wife, and the Rev. Dr. Sproat's eldest son and youngest daughter, are dead. Colonel Pickering buried a son yesterday, and Pelatiah Webster buried his wife the day before. Samuel Emery and wife are at Wilmington, Delaware, and were well a day or two ago. Now I have told you about everybody of your acquaintance that I can recollect.

I hardly know what to say about "the state of the disorder." It does not appear to abate, and I do not think it increases. My physician, Dr. Hodge, whom I think a judicious man, says that, since the disorder first began, it has altered its appearance *four* different times. He points out particulars, but I cannot recollect them. I think he says its malignancy is *greater* at present than it was lately. It is curious to see the diversity of opinion among *the learned*, both with respect to the disorder itself and the mode of treatment. It is distressing, too; for people are

perplexed to know which of them to trust. I believe that no particular fixed mode is right, but that predominant symptoms must direct the mode of treatment in all cases. In some, plentiful evacuations, by bleeding, &c., are necessary; in others, they must be fatal. In some, they are necessary *at first;* but, as soon as the disorder is checked, the nurse, the butcher, and the cook ought to be called to the aid of the physician.

Do you see Brown's paper? Rush has published a *nostrum* in it. He prescribes *that*, and bleeding, *in all cases*, and boasts lustily of his success. At the same time, it is a fact that he has lost three of his apprentices, and his sister, out of his own family. He is a perfect Sangrado, and would order blood enough to be drawn to fill Mambrino's helmet, with as little ceremony as a mosquito would fill himself upon your leg. He was called to a friend of mine, and directed 12 or 15 ounces of blood to be drawn, and one of his powders to be taken. It was done. The next day, 8 or 10 ounces, and another powder. It was done. The 3d day, more bleeding and purging. The patient, having felt his own pulse, objected against bleeding, as unnecessary. The Dr. pronounced "this opinion one of the most dangerous symptoms in the case; the disorder was extremely insidious; the case extremely critical; not a moment to be lost; send for the bleeder directly. In the mean time, take this pill; and, if that does not operate in one hour, take this. You must be glystered to-day; but, if you are not *bled* to-day, I shall not be surprized to hear that you are *dead* to-morrow." The patient declared he would lose no more blood; the Dr. declared he would no longer consider him as his patient, left him *to die*, and the man *got well*. I am told he took some bark, to strengthen his stomach; drank a little good wine, extraordinary, to enrich his remaining blood; and ate nourishing food in *small* quantities, but *frequently*.

Good nursing is a capital article, but hard to be got, people's fears are so much alarmed. An idea prevails that negroes will not take the disorder, and they go out nursing; but they charge *four dollars* per day for their services, and do very little for their money. As they have board and every thing found them, I do not know but *their pay is as high as the members of Congress.* I hope cold weather, rain, and frost will render them unnecessary by and by; but I fear we must keep them till then.

The public affairs are a little deranged at present, but I suppose will be all in order against the meeting of Congress. You see I take it for granted that Congress is to meet. *I was going to say,* so many members have shewn that they fear neither God nor man, that I suppose they will be under no apprehension from sickness; but, considering that I am writing to a *Secretary,* this may be thought severe: therefore, *I omit it,* and only hope there will be no sickness then, to prevent their meeting. If there should be (provided it is not *too bad*), maybe Drs. *Shippen* and *Kuhn* may be here to help them, though their fears have made them *fugitives* at present.

May *you* never want *their* aid!

Insurance business still goes on, but not as it did before the sickness attacked the city. However, there is no reason yet to despair of a *good dividend* next January. I hear of no losses worth mentioning. Remember me to any of my friends you meet with, and believe me to be

Yours, EBEN. HAZARD.

SAMUEL A. OTIS, Esq., Boston.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

PHILADELPHIA, October 30, 1793.

MY DEAR FRIEND, — Yours of the 23d inst. is just received, and affords me much pleasure. I am happy to find that my letter to Mr. Otis has, as I intended, given my friends an account of our situation, and relieved them from anxiety. To remove from the city, or not, was early a question in my mind; but, upon thinking over all circumstances, and especially how much depended on me respecting the Insurance Office, I felt it to be my duty to remain in the city, and determined accordingly. I have not been out at all, and Mrs. H. would not leave me, so we all took our chance together. We have nearly all been sick, and I may *almost* say, all got well. A young woman in the house is so well that this is the third day of her coming downstairs; and I expect a servant boy down to-morrow or the next day. Our youngest child and a servant girl have not had the disorder. Though we have had *eight* sick, we have great reason to be thankful that we have lost none, except an old lady of 73 years of age, while in some families that number has died.

[The accounts of the disorder and its effects which I have seen published were not to be depended on. It is astonishing to me that any person in this city could write such palpable untruths as some of them contain. Mr. Carey has published in our newspapers what he calls "a desultory account of the yellow fever," &c., which I believe is as good as can yet be given, and which you will probably see; but I am informed that a very accurate one is in hand, which will contain a variety of curious particulars. It seems to be pretty well ascertained that the disorder was imported; and, from the best accounts, upwards of 3,000 persons have fallen victims to it. Through deaths and removals, our city wears a gloomy appearance, in-

deed; but the disease has surprizingly abated, and the fugitive inhabitants are beginning to return, though I fear imprudently, for there are yet remains of the disorder among us, and it yet proves mortal to some. Our attentive committee have advised them to wait till we have had some heavy rains, and frost; but it is probable that inconvenient situations, the calls of business, or something else, will impel many to neglect this salutary advice. We have had no rain yet, but the weather has been cold and windy for several days. The day before yesterday there was a very small flight of snow, which was but just perceivable, and this morning I saw ice about as thick as a dollar, which had been thrown out of a bucket of water in the yard. Having mentioned our committee, I cannot help observing that the city is much indebted to them for their exertions. The "guardians of the poor" had all fled, except three, who were almost worn out with fatigue, and were obliged to call for help. A number of the citizens voluntarily stepped forward to their assistance, and the good effects of it were soon visible. They made ample provision of every kind for the poor sick, and have doubtless been the means of saving many lives. Their vigilance and care are still continued, and without abatement. Some of them devote their whole time to the business. Such citizens are of inestimable value!

31st.

During the disorder, our physicians in general (except two, who fled in the beginning of it, and have not yet returned) have been very sedulous and attentive; but it was an unfortunate circumstance that they were unacquainted with the disease, and ignorant of the proper mode of treating it. A Dr. Stephens, from the West Indies, recommended the cold bath, bark, wine, &c., and was successful in this practice in the case of Colonel Hamilton, whose letter upon this subject I suppose you have seen. Dr. Rush reprobated it, and insisted upon copious evacuations by bleed-

ing, &c., and he said so much about his success in the newspapers that he got a great run of business. He is apt to be sanguine (excuse the word, I do not mean a pun), and many think he carried bleeding to excess. I have heard it remarked that his patients do not recover their strength as soon as those of some other physicians. The public mind was exceedingly perplexed by the discordant and opposite opinions of the doctors, which they imprudently published in the newspapers. Dr. Rush was puffed off as an oracle by some, and, in every newspaper, "Dr. Rush's Mercurial Sweating Purge" met the eye, like the advertisements of a mountebank; while others insisted that his mode of practice would prove fatal, and an opposite one ought to be pursued. "Who shall decide, when doctors disagree?" I believe experience, at the cost of many lives, has done it; and, as far as I can learn, it seems now to be agreed that bleeding and purging, according to the state of the pulse, are necessary in the beginning; and bark, wine, and nourishing food, as soon as the disorder is checked.]

I have now furnished a pretty good paragraph for your son's paper: what follows is more for yourself.

I have been told, in such a way that I believe it, that the idea of *mercury* was suggested to Dr. R. by another physician, who also practised *bleeding* several days before him, and mentioned that also to him: he took the hint, flew to the newspapers, and got the credit of the discovery. "Sic vos, non vobis."

Such of our citizens who have heard of the benevolent intentions of the inhabitants of Boston feel suitably upon the occasion. "Beggars must not be choosers," but I believe cash would be more acceptable than any thing else, because with that any thing else can be procured; and, if specific articles are sent, it is probable there may be among them some of which there is already a redundancy, and others which may not be suitable.

All about whom you *particularly* enquire, I believe, are alive and well. Dr. Green and family went to Princeton before the fever occasioned alarm, to see one of their children, who was thought to be dying; he was then called farther from home, to see a dying brother-in-law; and, by that time, our inhabitants were flying in all directions, to avoid the disorder, and he has not returned; indeed, some of us advised him to stay where he was. Dr. Ewing consulted his safety by removing early; many of his congregation, as well as of all others, have fled, and he has no church, his old one having been pulled down to make room for an handsome new one, yet unfinished. The Mayor is the person you suppose. He has staid, and been useful among us, though our Recorder and all our Aldermen have fled. His wife is not dead, but getting well. If you attend to the character I gave you of Sangrado, at the commencement of your correspondence, you will not be surprized at his dropping it. Though, to do him justice, he has not had time for corresponding lately. I do not know where Mr. Annan is. Mr. Snowdon called to see me this morning, and says *Cornelia* and all the rest are well.* He desired his and her respects to you. They expect to return to the city next week.

Yes, you have had ceremony enough with your *one man*. A gentleman met another, when the news first came to town: "Well," said he, "Governour H., I see, has paid the debt of nature." "Yes," replied the other, "and I had almost said it is the first debt he ever paid." †

Does the Historical Society continue its publications? I have not seen any for a long time. The last I see in my collection is for February last; but, as my papers, &c., are yet deranged, I may have received later.

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* Mr. Snowdon was the husband of "Cornelia," and she was the daughter of Dr. Gerardus Clarkson. — Eds.

† Hancock died Oct. 8, 1793. — Eds.

Nov. 13.

The disorder may be said to be gone. We have this day a snow-storm and sleet. Our inhabitants are returning fast. Dr. Green preached for us last Sabbath, and has gone to bring his family home. I am told that N. Balch can furnish you with a great deal of *biographical information*, if he will, and that he is in possession of the whole business of resigning the government, &c.; but he must be taken in his own way. You probably know what that is. Draco, a writer in the Centinel in 1788, I think, is said to have collected many authentic facts.

We have lately had an immigration of *patriots* from Hispaniola. It seems the negroes reign now at Cape François. Among the patriots is the general who commanded the Black Corps, as I am informed. Some of the aristocrats, who have been here some time, got hold of him; he was either thrown, or fell from the vessel, into the river; and, while in the water, they made an inhuman attempt to murder him, by throwing bricks, stones, &c., at him. He was saved by the intervention of some Americans, who happened to see the affair, and is now securely lodged. This business occasioned our Mayor's proclamation, which you will doubtless see.

So your brother Thayer has attacked you.* I hope this will not occasion a revival of the dispute about Protestants and Papists. *If* you want any information upon that subject, for your own satisfaction, you will find plenty in an 8vo volume called "Free Thoughts on the Toleration of Popery," which was published a few years ago, while that matter was before Parliament. Perhaps it may be found in the College Library.

My family are all well. I heard from my eldest son yesterday. He is at school in the country, and I am told

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* Abbé John Thayer, the Roman Catholic clergyman in Boston. See p. 240. —Eds.

is growing *fat;* which, from the proficiency he makes in learning, is a circumstance I should not have expected.

Love to Mrs. Belknap. I am, dear sir,

Your friend, EBEN. HAZARD.

P. S. I have to make another *index* for my 2d volume. The first was consumed in the fire at Dobson's. I believe I have the rough-draught safe. Our love to Mr. and Mrs. Morse, when you see either.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

BOSTON, November 20, 1793.

MY DEAR SIR, — I hope, by this time, that your city is delivered from the dreadful calamity with which it has been visited; and I further hope that such a "sore visitation" as you have experienced will operate as a check upon the prevailing taste for enlarging Philadelphia, and crowding so many human beings together on so small a spot of earth. I wish, also, that Baltimore may take the hint; and, in short, that none of us may be so fond of following the fashions of the Old World in building great cities.

I wrote to you about three weeks ago, by the post, to which I have had no answer.

My wish is, when you can find it convenient, that you would be so good as to make enquiry of the several persons who had any of my books to sell, and get what money you can of them; and, if there be more than sufficient to pay your own balance, let Scotus have the rest. I have completely paid off all my paper and printing debts here, and I wish to finish at Philadelphia.

Your books remain in a trunk, in my study, ready to be delivered to your order. The number is 23.

My family is well, and we all join in love to you and Mrs. Hazard, rejoicing that you have been so happily carried through the pestilence. I am, dear sir,

Yours affectionately,

JEREMY BELKNAP.

P. S. I have sent William Penn's Letter to the Citizens of Philadelphia to John Fenno.

P. S. I have contracted with Thomas & Andrews for the printing of *one edition* of the Biography, which will be about 1,200 copies. For each volume I am to receive 300 dollars in one year after publication: all the money collected by subscription to be mine, as part of said sum. Thus, I have nothing to do with paying paper-makers, printers, nor booksellers, no freight, insurance, package, to attend to, but solely writing, delivery the copy, correcting the press, and receiving the money. I am, however, to have 25 copies for myself, and to retain the copyright.*

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

BOSTON, November 26, 1793.

DEAR SIR, — Since I wrote by Mr. Wingate, I have received a letter from you, by the post, in answer to mine. You have given me an account of all my acquaintance in Philadelphia, except William Ball and Scotus. I am sorry your index was burnt, and that you have to go through the drudgery of making another. As to John Thayer, I do not intend to write a word against him, or any thing that he has said. If the Roman Catholics are *mending* their principles and practice, I wish them success. The time may

* The first volume was published in 1794. The second volume was in the press when Dr. Belknap suddenly died, June 20, 1798. The preface or "advertisement" to that volume bears date June 1, 1798. — EDS.

come when the Church of Rome may be as pure as it was in the Apostles' days. I am glad to find that they are ashamed to own some things which, in the days of their insolence, they boasted in.

The booksellers here have agreed to raise the price of the History of New Hampshire, *bound*, to 5 dollars. By the same rule, those in blue boards ought not to be sold under 25*s*., L. M. Will you be so good as to give notice of this to such of your booksellers as have them? Beers, of New Haven, has sent to me for 6 sets.

I have told Jo of the omission you mentioned, of the monthly pamphlet. He says they are sent by post, as newspapers. I have said to him that he had better send them by water. When you look over your books, at the end of the year, let me know what months are missing.

Brother Morse is well, and is defending his Geography against Freeman. But it needs much correction.

Our love to all yours.

Your friend and humble servant,

JERE. BELKNAP.

I wish you would send me the plan on which your insurance office is founded. I have never seen it.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

BOSTON, December 20, 1793.

MY DEAR SIR, — This will be handed to you by William Spotswood, who, by the removal of his family hither, has become a Bostonian. He intends to remove his printing-office in the spring, and I believe he will be an addition to the number of good citizens. He informs me that he does not remember to have seen any public advertisement

of the books which I sent to Dobson for sale. If there has not been any, perhaps it is not now too late. I think it must help the sale. I am anxious to have my account with Scotus closed, partly because it is of so long standing, and partly because I think he must have suffered in his interest by the late sickness, though I hear he and his family have lived through it.

Our Historical Society have petitioned Congress for copies of all acts, journals, treaties, and other public papers printed by their order. The petition is sent to *Peleg Coffin*, a member from Nantucket, to present, he being one of our Society. As you are also one of our Corresponding Members, I wish you to be acquainted with him, — he is a worthy and well informed man, especially in the mercantile and navigation line of business, — and to assist in the applying to the several offices for the accomplishment of our views. For this purpose, I enclose to you a letter, which you may deliver or not, as you see fit. We want also copies of proceedings of ecclesiastical synods and assemblies, Episcopal or Presbyterian or Quakers or Moravians, or any other denomination. And we wish to have all the accounts which can be had of the late malignant fever. In particular, I should like that you should get one of M. Carey's pamphlets, the latest edition, interleaved, and write on the blanks any notes which may occur to you, by way of amplification or correction. You need not be in a hurry about *sending* it: it will be the richer for being kept in your hands some months.

I hope this will find your family well. Mine is in general so, with an exception to Mrs. B., who has been for some time a little out of order; but you must not take any notice of it in any letter to me. Her nerves are delicate.

Brother Morse is daily looking for the arrival of another

son or daughter, perhaps both. I hope they have a couple of names of *sufficient length* prepared. . . .

I am, dear sir,

Your friend and humble servant,

JERE. BELKNAP.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

BOSTON, January 5, 1794.

DEAR SIR, — Permit me to introduce to you my very good friend and beloved physician, *Dr. Nathaniel Walker Appleton*, who is on a visit to Philadelphia. I am sure you will be pleased with him. Since I wrote to you by Mr. Spotswood, I have nothing very particular to say, till I hear from you.

This session of Congress must produce a great many *important papers*, which we shall wish to have in our historical repository. We are very willing to *receive*, and I hope shall be as willing to *give*, when we have it in our power; though I think we are not much disposed *to buy*, and for a very good reason, — the same that is common to most authors.

Mrs. B. desires her kind respects to you and yours. I am, dear sir, with unabated esteem,

Your sincere and obliged friend,

JEREMY BELKNAP.

The first volume of American Biography is in the press. I wish to have a return of subscriptions as soon as there is a convenient opportunity.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

Boston, April 14, 1794.

My dear Sir, — It is a long time since I heard a word from you. I suppose you are so immersed in business that you have no time to write. Is not this candid?

You have with this one copy of the American Biography, Vol. 1st, which please to accept as a token of my friendship. Thomas & Andrews have the selling of them, and I am glad to be rid of that trouble. How do my other books go off? or were any of them burnt in Dobson's fire? I wish my account with Scotus was closed. I hope there is enough to pay him: if not, I will contrive to send enough as soon as I can know what remains due.

I have broken ground to build a house, on a spot where never one was built, and in a new street, which is to be called after General Lincoln.

Mrs. B. and my family unite in affectionate regards to you and Mrs. H. and family. What sort of a scholar is Master Sam likely to make? Adieu. Write to me by Spotswood, if not before.

Your friend and humble servant,

Jeremy Belknap.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

Philadelphia, July 4, 1794.

My dear Sir, — In yours per the Abby, Captain Eames, you ask if your apology for my long silence is not candid. It is, and you act a friendly part in making it; but, although you had not heard from me so long, I had actually written to you (but I don't know when), as the enclosed, which has long been my *vade mecum*, will shew. I send it in its unfinished state. Thank you for the 1st

volume of your Biography, of which I have read a part with pleasure, but have not had time to go through it. Dobson tells me your other books do not sell, which I am very sorry for. They have been advertised.

So you have got your hand in mortar. May you live long to enjoy your house, and find it a comfortable habitation, until you are removed to a better, in the heavens.

My 2d volume is published, and Dobson tells me he has sent a parcel to D. West. I send herewith the orders you formerly mentioned. Please to put a copy of this volume in your library, and let one be given to Mr. Morse, one to the Academy, and one to the Historical Society, in my name and with my compliments.

We have got the great Dr. Priestley among us. We admire him as a philosopher; we pity and sympathize with him as a persecuted man; we shall endeavour to comfort him in his exile by polite attentions; but he —

August 5.

So, as I was saying, — but he will not be ranked among the most eminent *Christians*. He has lately been attacked in a pamphlet, by a writer who can write well, whom, from his rancour and illiberality, I take to be an Englishman. Even conjecture has not named him.*

I cannot yet get your account from Dobson; but, from what he has told me, I fear his receipts on your account will go but a little way towards paying Aitken.

Dobson, some time since, sent some of my books to Boston; and, I think he said, without a letter; and I have not been able to write about them, nor, indeed, to pay any attention to them. My time is too much engrossed by the office; but I cannot help it. We have nothing

* The person who attacked Dr. Priestley soon after his arrival in this country was an Englishman, William Cobbett ("Porcupine"). Dr. Priestley arrived at New York from England, 4 June of this year. See an account of his reception there in Wansey's Excursion to the United States in 1794. — Eds.

new. When you see our friend Morse, tell him we are all well, and that I have long *intended* to write to him. Love to him and his, as well as all yours.

I have several things for the Society, which shall be sent, and among the rest the Journals of the Senate U. S., procured through the favour of Mr. Otis.

I have just thought whether your house will not be built in less time than this letter has been on the anvil.

Good-bye. EBEN. HAZARD.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

PHILADELPHIA, September 11, 1794.

DEAR SIR, — This day I have received yours of 15th ultimo, with the late publications of the Historical Society, which shall be distributed as directed.

The certificate has been some time in my hands, waiting for a safe private conveyance, but is now forwarded agreeably to your directions, per post, which indeed is necessary, or it will not be in time for putting on the books, so as to enable you to receive the next interest at Boston.

It is probable that my 2d volume has reached Boston ere now. I cannot think what has detained them so long.

One Bradford (who, I am told, was formerly a member of our Assembly) appears to be the *Shays* of Pittsburg; but I suspect others are concerned, under cover. My own opinion is that most of their committee have had a finger in the pye. I should not be surprized if it should be found that some members of democratic societies have, by letter or otherwise, stimulated to opposition to the laws.

Mr. Fenno's son was mistaken. The letter was *begun* long before he proposed going to Boston, as it has probably informed you.

My interruptions are incessant.

Fort hill

Those houses were scorched & blistered

Hutchinson Street

Fire began July 30 1794

Boyne walls

Town House

Those 3 houses were saved with difficulty

Federal Street

Theatre

Milk Street

Old South

Cornhill

Franklin place

Franklin

New Street

Vintners lane

Trinity Church

Marlborough Street

Ratcliffs wharf

Dillaways wharf

Davis's wharf

Tileston's wharf

Bulls wharf

Wheelers point

Sea

JB 1787 to 1793

Col Waters

Newbury Street

To the Common

To the Common

JB's new house 1794

New South

Queen Street

Princes Street

Ravels lane

Queen Street

Glasshouse

Fire began april 1787

Liberty Pole

Orange Street

JB 1793

The militia will certainly march against the insurgents. Our Governour goes with them. My regards to your family. I am

Your affectionate EBEN. HAZARD.

P. S. I had seen Mr. Dexter's advertisement for a "Devel" catcher before.*

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

BOSTON, 20 September, 1794.

MY DEAR SIR, — Your favour, enclosing the warrant, came to hand yesterday, 4 days too late for the present quarter. The Loan Commissioner cannot receive it till after the 1st of October. I wish you had not kept it for a private opportunity, but had sent it by post immediately on receiving it.

Your books *are* come, and are advertised. I have received mine, for which I thank you, but have not yet had time to cut open the leaves. I am so deeply dipped in mortar that I can attend to nothing else; and yet, through a strange act of Providence, the settlement of a friend's estate and the care of two orphan children are devolved upon me, and I cannot get rid of the charge.

I hope to get into my house the first week in October.

The Tontine Crescent is situate between Summer Street and Milk Street, in a place which, when you knew the town, was a piece of meadow ground. I cannot give you a better idea of it than by the enclosed plan,† where you will also see the limits of the late fire, and the situation of the several houses which I have lived in since I came to reside here.

I hope "our Pittsburg brethren" will be brought to

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* Timothy Dexter. See the "American Apollo" for Aug. 7, 1794. — EDS.

† A heliotype of this plan is inserted at this place. — EDS.

submission. Your Governour begins his career with sufficient sponk.*

With best respects to you and yours, and your cousin Cornelia, I am, dear sir,

Your affectionate friend, JERE. BELKNAP.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

BOSTON, May 11, 1795.

DEAR SIR, — It is a long time since I heard any thing from you. I suppose you are deeply immersed in business, but I hope not so deeply but that you can spare time to do a little for me. I wish to have my accounts at Philadelphia closed. I sent books there to be sold, which, if sold, would produce enough to pay my balance to R. A.† It is my request to you to call on Dobson, and see what he has sold, and what he has on hand, and, if he will take what are left, he may have them at any price which you and he may agree on. Then, if you will be so good as to pay my balance to R. A., and draw on me for whatever may be wanting, I will honour your bill at 8 days' sight.

Mr. West has not called on me for any of the 1st volumes of your collections. They still remain in my care. The 2d volumes are in his shop. Shall I send back the 1st volume to you? West says he has not *room* for them. There is something due to you, which you may know by the memorandum I formerly sent you. Please to put that also into your bill, and it shall be paid. But there is one debt I shall always *owe* you, and that is gratitude and respect.

I feel an admonition within myself to get my affairs in order, and not to leave any thing which may prove a

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* Or "spunk." — EDS.

† Robert Aitken, often referred to here as "Scotus." — EDS.

perplexity to my family after I am gone. Through the favour of Divine Providence, I have got a shelter for my family, in which we have lived with satisfaction about 7 months. I have had some thoughts of getting it *insured* at your office, for which reason I wish to know on what terms, and in what manner, it may be done. The value is 4,000 dollars. Please to let me know as soon as you can.

Enclosed with this, you have a copy of my effort to keep up the credit of our religion in these degenerate times.* You will present the other copy, with my very affectionate regards, to your cousin Cornelia; and, with mine, Mrs. B.'s love to your consort.

In a week or two more, my volume of Sacred Poetry will come forth, after which, if my health be recruited, I shall enter on the 2d volume of the Biography. Did I send you the 1st volume? I forget.

At present I am obliged to adopt Roger Price's translation of Paul's advice to Timothy. Instead of "Give thyself to *reading*," it should be "*riding*." Roger was formerly a king's chaplain here, and a great sportsman.

I am this week bound to Plymouth, and after election to Connecticut. Wherever or in whatever circumstances I may be, I shall always with pleasure remember my connection with you, and am, dear sir,

Your very affectionate friend,

JERE. BELKNAP.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

PHILADELPHIA, July 4, 1795.

MY DEAR FRIEND, — Mr. Otis's intended departure from the city gives me a convenient opportunity of acknowl-

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* Dr. Belknap published this year "Dissertations on the Character, Death, and Resurrection of Jesus Christ," &c. — EDS.

edging the receipt of yours of May 11 and June 6, which came to hand at the same time, together with your Collection of Sacred Poetry, and Dissertations, for which I thank you. I think you have done good service to the cause of Christianity by the latter, and I think the former will be useful; but I have yet given it but a cursory review. Watts's 148th Psalm, beginning with, "Loud Hallelujahs to the Lord," I think is omitted. *De gustibus non est disputandum;* but I have always been pleased with that, as containing both elegance and simplicity.

I had repeatedly called on Dobson for his account, before receiving your letter, but without success. However, he has now got at it, but will not be able to furnish it in season for this conveyance. His sales have been very trifling. You will soon have the account of them, I expect.

With respect to my first volumes, I believe it will be best to leave a few (say 3 or 4) with West, that, if he should be called on for both, he may be able to furnish them. I think his shop must be very small.

I am alarmed by the paragraph respecting your health, but hope you will not find your situation as critical as you appear to apprehend it to be. Would not a ride this way be of service to you? I have a delightful situation, in which your stay may be very comfortable; and, should you need a nurse while here, Mrs. H., who is one of the best, will minister to your necessities with the kindness and attention of a friend. It is a pleasing consideration that your family will have a shelter, should you be removed from them, and not lie at the mercy of a landlord; but I hope, my friend, that, notwithstanding your present apprehensions, you will long be a happy tenant of the house yourself.

Our office does not insure any buildings except in the vicinity of this city, nor *framed* ones anywhere.

I delivered to the Philosophical Society and Mr. Fenno copies of your letter to Dr. Kippis, &c., and Cornelia has

received her books. Her husband has gone to sea for his health; and she expects an increase in the family very soon.

Yes, you sent me the 1st volume of the Biography. I shall be very glad to see the 2d, but think it will be advisable for you to prefer "*riding*" to either "*reading*" or writing. Should you be spared, and print again, I hope the master of the Apollo press will pay more attention to neatness of execution in his line than in your late publications.

I enclose a receipt from the Secretary of State's office for a copy of your Sacred Poetry. I proposed to Mr. Taylor to insert that it was lodged by me, on your behalf; but he said it was unnecessary. To supply this defect (as it appears to me), I have subjoined my own certificate.

Has the publication of the Historical Society's collections (the Apollo) fallen through? I shall be very sorry if it has; though, from my not having heard any thing of it for a very long time, I fear it is the case. I mentioned to you, long since, what was the last number I had received, and some deficiencies; but, as I have not heard from you on the subject, suspect you did not get the letter. The Nos. wanting are Nos. 28, 29, 30, 31, 36, 37, of volume 1. These I apprehend I have had, and lost by removing. No. 5, of volume 2 (for Feb., 1793), is the last I received, and I recollect seeing advertisements which mentioned some subsequent numbers as being published. You will oblige me *much* by having my sett compleated, and directing Belknap and Hall to send me future numbers (if the collection is continued) by vessels bound to this port. If a catalogue of the books and pamphlets, &c., belonging to the Society, has been published, I will thank you for one.

Dr. Rush's mother (Mrs. Morris) was buried yesterday afternoon, æt. 78.

Mrs. Hazard and our daughter are on a visit to Shrewsbury. Our friend the Judge has been confined some weeks to his bed. He is free from pain, but so weak as to be unable to get into or out of bed without being lifted. He has lately been troubled with the cholic. In his case, a regular fit of the gout would be desirable; but they have in vain attempted to produce it. Our eldest son is at school, at Woodbury, in New Jersey (about 9 miles from this city), so that I have quite a small family, and I feel solitary, except when at the office. The house don't look as it ought to do.

With love to Mrs. Belknap and family, I am, dear sir,

Your sincere friend,

EBEN. HAZARD.

P. S. I intended writing to you when I had the last fit of the gout, but it left me too soon.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

BOSTON, August 21, 1795.

MY DEAR SIR, — Since I wrote you last, my health is considerably mended, by means of what the physicians call *tonic* medicine and diet, but especially the trotting-horse and the cold bath. The former part of the summer I was much "given to riding." My last excursion was to Lebanon, in Connecticut, to collect the MSS. and pamphlets of the late Governour Trumbull, which were given to the Historical Society by his heirs; and I believe we shall be able to give the public a rich repast from them.* We expect some from Governour Hancock's; and when our old patriot S. A.'s † head is laid, we hope to get more. There is nothing like having a *good repository*, and keep-

* See Proceedings of this Society for March, 1858, p. 310. — EDS.

† Samuel Adams. — EDS.

ing a *good look-out*, not waiting at home for things to fall into the lap, but prowling about like a wolf for the prey.

I have got the 3d volume of the Collections for you, and all the numbers of the 2d which you wanted; but, as to the missing numbers of the 1st, I know not where to get them, unless they come to me by accident. I have found one, No. 31, among my papers, which I have put up. The Collections are now printed *quarterly*, and 4 numbers will contain as much as 12, when printed monthly.

Samuel Hall is now our printer. If you will have them *yearly* or *quarterly*, send me word. We hope soon to be able to enlarge the subscription. At present, the *sale* of copies does not pay the expence of printing; and it is hard that the Society should work for the public and get themselves in debt, which is, in fact, the case.

I have given Mr. John Davis a letter to you, and, in addition to what I there say, which is short, I must tell you that he is one of the best characters among all my acquaintance. You will find him a man of *sterling worth*. Should he bring his family to Philadelphia, you will gain a most amiable woman, and a set of engaging little ones, to the number of 5. I spent a week at his house in Plymouth, last May, and was never more pleased in any family in my life. He wants me to introduce him to Dr. Rush, but I had rather not. I have had no correspondence with him for near two years, and do not wish to renew it. I shall give him a letter to Dr. Barton.

I hope I shall not have to wait for you to have another fit of the gout before I hear from you again. Pray let my whole business with Dobson and Aitken be settled, as I requested in my last. I have just the same impression of the propriety of doing it, which I had then. Your books shall be returned, excepting three or four, which I will leave with West. His accommodations are not so large as he wishes.

Watts's 148 was rather *overlooked* than designedly omitted, I had so many to collect from.

The Psalms are introduced into the public worship in our church, and in the church of Harvard, in the County of Worcester; and I suppose will be in some other churches.

Mrs. B. joins me in love to Mrs. Hazard. I beg you to mention my affectionate regards to Cornelia, and tell her I hope her 3d baby will be as pretty a creature as she wrote me her 2d was.

Your affectionate friend,

JERE. BELKNAP.

I thank you for your invitation to Philadelphia, but believe I shall not see you there very soon. Should I journey again for *health*, I know not whither it will be.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

BOSTON, October 22, 1795.

DEAR SIR, — I have not heard from you since I wrote by Mr. Davis. Your bundle, which he left behind, I have since sent by a vessel, I think, Captain Chessman. I now send by Mr. Savage, the painter, 3 numbers of the Historical Collections for the present year, and shall continue them as published. I have called on Mr. West. He has sold a few of your 2d volume. He has promised to attend to the delivery of others. I forbear to return your 1st volumes till he has made a farther attempt.

Pray let me have the settlement of my accounts respecting the books I sent to Philadelphia. My health is now pretty good. Mrs. B. is not well. I hope this will find you and yours in good health. I am, dear sir,

Your obliged friend, J. BELKNAP.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

Boston, 22d October, 1795.

Dear Sir, — Since closing my letter this morning, I have received a billet from Mr. West, which I enclose to you. I suppose his meaning is that, if he had a larger commission, he could exchange your books for others with his brethren of the type. You will be able to judge of the propriety of yielding to his motion. I find that the booksellers are in a league, from Philadelphia to Boston; and I wish such a combination could be formed among authors, not in opposition to them, but in union with them. But of this I have no hope.

With my best regards to Mrs. Hazard, I am, dear sir,

Yours sincerely,

Jere. Belknap.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

Philadelphia, December 27, 1795.

My dear Friend, — Every day since Dr. Morse's arrival I have essayed writing to you; but one interruption and another has prevented. I have no small anxiety lest you should think I neglect you, and must depend on your friendship to apologize for what I cannot so well explain to you at this distance. I now scratch an hasty line on the Sabbath, between sermons. Thank you for introducing Mr. Davis to me. I am much pleased with him, and am not without hopes of having his good little wife (my old acquaintance) for a neighbour.

The addition made to the Society's collections from Governour Trumbull's papers must be valuable; and I doubt not there will be many such additions, if *your* life is spared; but I fear that there will not be equal zeal and

attention left after your decease. When I think of my own worthlessness as a member, I am ashamed; and yet I can honestly say I am not so much to blame as a person unacquainted with my situation would suppose.

I received the 3d volume of the Collections with the other numbers you sent, and will thank you to keep a look-out for those still wanting to compleat the 1st volume. I have given our friend Dr. Morse a memorandum of them, in hopes that he may pick them up among his friends. Please to send me the Collections *quarterly*. I am sorry to hear that the sale does not defray the expence. This is one of the sad attendants on American *authorship*. I cannot get your account from Dobson yet, though it has been often promised. He has sold but 15 sets of your History, and a much less number of the others, so that you see there will not be enough to pay Aitken. I have not forgotten your account, though it is not yet ready for sending to you. I think Mr. West is unreasonable in his demands. Surely a *tenth part* of the *whole price* of such large books as mine is a sufficient commission for selling them. His exertions, I suspect, have not been equal to this commission. If it does not suit Mr. W. to sell my books, perhaps some other bookseller may be found who will, and may have a shop large enough to hold *both* volumes. The sale of the work is not necessary to my comfortable existence, and I shall not suffer very sensibly from its remaining on hand.

We are all well, and send love to you and Mrs. B. I am

Your affectionate EBEN. HAZARD.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

PHILADELPHIA, January 14, 1796.

MY DEAR FRIEND, — I have received your favour of 21st ultimo, by Colonel Elliot, since writing by Dr. Morse. The account it enclosed I find right, except that in that of the books sent you charge 6 setts of your History at 22*s.* 6*d.*, $11.25, whereas it should have been $22.50. However, this will make no difference, as the books will be duly accounted for.

It was not before this day that I could get your account from Dobson. You will see there is a balance due you of £14 8*s.* 11*d.* The History of New Hampshire, charged in it as delivered to me, is the one you gave me in exchange for my Collections; and the Foresters, the copy you sent me or Cornelia, I forget which. I will ask Dobson for the balance, that I may pay it to Aitken, together with the $3.26 due from me.

You will also receive my account herewith. Somehow or other, there is a deficiency of 5 volumes of the History, which I cannot account for. Perhaps I have sold them, and forgotten to make the entry in my book. However, I have given you credit for them in the cash account, as you will observe. Mr. Spotswood (to whom I mentioned it when he was here) will settle with you for the books he received from me. I am sorry that so many remain unsold here. It must be charged to want of taste in the age, I believe. I more than *sympathize* with you, for I have not sold enough of my Collections yet to pay for printing the 1st volume! and I believe you have. Our friend Morse seems to be the only successful author in the triumvirate. What a pity it is that *we* had not been geographers instead of historians!

How silent the public are about Randolph's Vindica-

tion!* I have not read it; for I was determined not to *pay* for it, and have heard so much about it that I have not curiosity enough to stimulate me to borrow it. He is generally condemned here, and even the Democrats leave him *to his own vindication.* Congress are sitting; but I am so hurried with insurances, dividends, &c., that I have not time to enquire what they are doing. It is near 10 o'clock at night, and I have not left the office yet; but I must go, lest Colonel Elliot should be gone to bed, and he talks of leaving town in the morning. I intended, but forgot to mention, that, if it will afford you any convenience or accommodation, I would pay the whole amount of Cr. of the *cash account* ($25.65) to Aitken, and leave the balance due me ($22.63) on account of my collections to be settled by you when you may find it will suit you better. Let me hear from you on this head.

By the bye, don't I owe you something for the Society's Collections? We are all well. Give our love to Mrs. Belknap and family. Can't you visit us in the spring? It is probable the ride will be of service to you. I am, dear sir,

Yours affectionately, EBEN. HAZARD.

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

PHILADELPHIA, July 18, 1797.

MY DEAR SIR, — Having a good opportunity by Mr. Larkin, I send you Robinson's Apology for the Brownists, to be added to the Historical Society's Library, and $20 towards aiding them in their publications. Robinson is a great curiosity, and this is the only copy of it that I have

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* Edmund Randolph, who in 1794 succeeded Jefferson as Secretary of State, and resigned in the following year, in consequence of an alleged intrigue with the French minister. He published his own "Vindication." — EDS.

ever met with. How is the Society going on? Do they continue their publications? It is a long time since I have received any of them.

It has grieved me not a little that I have not been able to write to you as formerly, and to continue a correspondence from which I derived both pleasure and information; but it has been absolutely out of my power. It is not necessary that our hours of business should be such as they are, and I have tried to get them altered, so as to give me a little time for recreation; but I have not succeeded, and must be content still to be a drudge. I have, however, sometimes the pleasure of hearing of you, by one and another, from Boston.

You will see, by the papers, that the aspect of our public affairs is very unpleasant. What the issue will be, human wisdom cannot foresee; but I hope it will be for our benefit, in some way or other.

Dr. Barton has been publishing new views of the Indians, of which he will doubtless inform you. I have not yet seen his work.

Mrs. Hazard and family, Cornelia, and your other friends here, are well. My rib unites with me in affection for yourself, Mrs. Belknap, and family. How do you all do? The Judge has the gout more than half his time. I have just recovered from a fit of it.

I fear the stage will be gone, and must therefore bid you hastily adieu.

Eben. Hazard.

P. S. The bank-note is at the titlepage of the book.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

Boston, August 4, 1797.

My very dear Friend, — A letter from you is a great rarity, but not the less welcome for that. Your present to the Historical Society is very acceptable, and in their name I give you their thanks, for which, as their Secretary, I have a standing order. The Apology of John Robinson is a precious curiosity, and to *me* nothing could be more grateful; for I have been looking over Daniel Neal and Robert Baylie to find fragments of it in Latin, and could get but a very small part. Now I have the whole, and can introduce what I please of it into the American Biography, in which his Life must make a conspicuous figure, as the Father of the Church of Plymouth.

Your 20 dollar bill is an *original* present to the Society, and I wish it may be copied by others. We, I mean Resident Members, have been long struggling with the payment of expences for former publications, and for two years past have been obliged to discontinue them, not for want of matter nor zeal, but of encouragement from the public.

I hope we shall soon make another attempt; and, in that case, we shall solicit help from every part of the continent where we have Corresponding Members. It is in our power to furnish the public with much information, by republishing scarce and valuable pieces, and communicating original matter, which frequently comes into our hands, and would come more frequently, if the publication could be renewed and continued.

I regret much that our correspondence has been so interrupted by my infirmities and your business. It will always be a pleasure to me to renew and keep it up, when I am able, and have opportunity. It gives me pleasure to hear from you, from Mrs. Hazard and Cornelia. To them please to present my very affectionate regards, and the

same from my family. Dr. Barton has sent his book on the Indian languages. It is laborious and curious. I have written him a letter of thanks, and have enclosed a specimen of the Penobscot language, which he has not seen, I presume, before. I hear that there is a History of Pennsylvania preparing for the press.* Do you know what is, or is likely to be, its merit, and by whom it is written? With much respect and esteem, I am, dear sir,

Your friend and humble servant,

JEREMY BELKNAP.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

BOSTON, March 22, 1798.

DEAR SIR, — I think the last time I heard from you was when you sent 20 dollars to the Historical Society. The acknowledgment, which was publickly made, of the receipt of this money, has stimulated several other members of the Society to do something handsome in the way of presents; and one gentleman in particular has put some money into my hands, to be laid out according to my discretion. I have already bought several valuable books with a part of it, and the remainder is still at my disposal.

Some years ago you sent me a list of pamphlets and newspapers, which you had collected, and which you said you were willing to dispose of. Among them was Rivington's Royal Gazette, printed in New York whilst it was in possession of the British. Have you that book now? and, if you have, what is the lowest price that you will take for it? Have you also Smith's History of New Jersey? or can you procure it for us? Pray let me know, by Dr. Morse, and the price of it.

The 2d volume of my Biography will go to the press, I

* The History of Pennsylvania, by Robert Proud, in two volumes, 1797 and 1798, is probably the one referred to as in preparation. — EDS.

hope, in all the month of May. We have resumed the publication of the Collections, and a number is now ready, one of which I hope Dr. Morse will bring with him.

I sent three subscription papers, under Mr. Secretary Wolcott's cover, one of which was directed to you, one to Dr. Barton, and the other to Mr. Wolcott.

If you inquire about my health, it is better, on the whole, than it was a year ago, though I am, and always expect to be, an invalid.

With my best regards to your lady and family, and all my friends with you, I am, dear sir,

Your friend and humble servant,

JEREMY BELKNAP.*

HAZARD TO BELKNAP.

PHILADELPHIA, April 15, 1798.

MY DEAR FRIEND, — Dr. Morse delivered me your very acceptable favour of 22d ultimo; and, though it is near 12 o'clock at night (and I am in my bed-chamber), I cannot let so good an opportunity pass without dropping you a line. I am happy that my small donation to the Society has had so good an effect, and cannot but hope that so valuable an institution will meet with proper encouragement. It is of importance that its Collections should be published. I have desired Dr. Morse to have me entered in the list as a subscriber for two copies. I have Rivington's Royal Gazette yet, but it forms a part of a large collection of newspapers, which I wish not to break. Smith's History of New Jersey also forms a part of my library. It is not to be disposed of; but, in consequence of your hint, I will enquire for one for the Society.

I am glad to find you are encouraged to publish a 2d

* On the back of this letter is written in pencil: "He died June, 1798, buried 22d. His son John sent the particulars in a letter to my father, dated June 28." — EDS.

volume of your Biography. If it is to be published by subscription, add my name to the list.

The subscription paper for the Society's Collections was delivered to me, but I have not been able to procure any subscribers. I think, notwithstanding, that some few copies (in volumes) will sell. Dr. Morse brought me the lately published number.

Mrs. H. (though in bed) desires me to send her respects to Dr. and Mrs. Belknap. She is joined in all her good wishes for you both by

Your friend, EBEN. HAZARD.

HAZARD TO JOHN BELKNAP.

PHILADELPHIA, May 12, 1800.

SIR, — It is so long since you favoured me with a letter that I am almost ashamed to acknowledge its having ever been received; but an unfortunate accident has occasioned my silence. The letter got mislaid amongst some of the office papers, and, though great pains were taken to find it, I have not been able to lay my hands on it till very lately.

I was much affected by the news of your good father's death. He was one of my most intimate friends.

I do not recollect any unfinished business of mine that was in his hands, unless he might have some of my Historical Collections unsold; but I rather incline to think he put them into the hands of Mr. David West. The cash part of his account against me was settled by a remittance I made of the balance (being $1.53) in July, 1796, by John Davis, Esq. Since that time we have had no cash transactions; but I have remaining on hand one copy of the 1st, and nine copies of the 3d, volumes of the History of New Hampshire.

Some books were put into the hands of Mr. Thomas Dobson for sale, of which he has promised me the account this afternoon. If I receive it, it shall be forwarded herewith. The books in my hands, and those in Mr. Dobson's, will remain subject to your future orders; and any balance that may be due from him will be paid as you shall direct.

From a hint prefixed to the 2d volume of the American Biography, I find that materials for a 3d were collected. Should it be proposed to publish this, or any other of your father's works not already in print, I beg to be considered as a subscriber.

I have lately returned from a visit to the family of Judge Breese, at Shrewsbury, in New Jersey. This gentleman is lately deceased. He was father to Mrs. Morse, of Charlestown. His widow is sister to Mrs. Hazard, whom I left there.

With my best respects to your mother and family, I am, sir,

Your very humble servant, EBEN. HAZARD.

P. S. I enclose Mr. Dobson's account.

HAZARD TO MRS. RUTH BELKNAP.

[CHARLESTOWN,] Friday, October 28, 1803.

MADAM, — Since I saw you at Judge Davis's, the American Biography has frequently occurred to my mind; and, in consequence of our conversation on that occasion, I feel more anxious that the work should appear, for I fear that the materials collected with so much labour will be again dispersed, and no benefit accrue from them, either to the family or to the public. I think a plan may be formed for preventing so disagreeable a result, and therefore take the liberty of suggesting in writing what I before mentioned

verbally, with the addition of one or two new ideas. So far as I can learn, the Historical Society consider Dr. Belknap as the father of that Institution, and retain great respect for his memory. Many of the members retain the attachment of personal friendship, and will be glad of an opportunity both of extending his literary fame, and of shewing their regard for his family. I therefore think it probable that they will chearfully undertake to complete the 3d volume of the Biography for the press, and apprehend it may be done without difficulty, as follows: Let a friend in whom you can confide (a member of the Society) be informed for what Lives any materials are collected. Let him watch opportunities, as they occur, of hinting the plan to the members, and of engaging the assistance of such as will be suitable, and may be depended on. Let each choose the Life he will complete, and the materials for it which have been collected be put into his hands. In this mode, a number may be employed at once, each will have but little to do, so that the undertaking will not be burthensome to any, and the publication will be expedited. It can, and I am confident *will*, be done, without any expence or risque to the family; and any profit that may arise will be theirs. At the same time, a suitable preface may secure to the memory of our friend the honour both of the original design and of collecting many of the materials.

Your knowledge of the members will leave you at no loss to whom to mention the proposal; and I beg you to be assured that I will, with great chearfulness, take my share both of the labour and expence. I am, madam,

Your very sincere friend and humble servant,

EBEN. HAZARD.

MRS. RUTH BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

Sir, — With the most sincere gratitude, I thank you for your very kind attention to the most important business I have in this world. Your ideas and mine would exactly coincide on the subject, had I not hitherto tried the same plan, in vain. I have wished one hour's conversation with you in Mr. Belknap's study, alone, where all the materials are carefully preserved, in the same state in which they were left.* You would have a much better idea of them by seeing them one half hour, and I could give you the state of the case much better than in writing. If you can afford one hour, and will appoint it, it would be a great satisfaction to me, for I know of no man in whose disinterested friendship I can so sincerely confide.

Your very obliged and sincere friend,

[Ruth Belknap.]

HAZARD TO MRS. RUTH BELKNAP.

Charlestown, October 31, 1803.

Madam, — I am extremely sorry that I cannot have the pleasure of seeing you again before my return home; but it will be impracticable, as I contemplate going to-morrow, and this day will be necessary for requisite arrangements. Plans which are not effectual at one time may succeed at another: through a change of circumstances, this frequently happens. Perhaps, therefore, there would be no sufficient reason for discouragement in the present case; and, might I be permitted to advise, I should recommend an application to some judicious friend (and of such you cannot be destitute) for his opinion and advice in the case. A

* These MS. materials are now in possession of this Society. See Proceedings for March, 1858, p. 295. — Eds.

man of science will be the most eligible. Excuse the freedom I have taken. It arises from friendship, and a sincere desire to serve you. I am, madam,

Your most obedient servant,

EBEN. HAZARD

HAZARD TO MRS. RUTH BELKNAP.

PHILADELPHIA, May 28, 1804.

MADAM, — In the midst of hurry and numerous avocations, I have examined the two manuscripts, but find so little in them respecting any one person that it will not be possible to write a Life from them. One, indeed, relates entirely to the College. The other, I observe, is No. 14; and I think it not improbable that the prior volumes may contain more materials for the Lives of the same persons, or some of them; but, as this is uncertain, I will return what I have, if Mrs. Breese can conveniently take them. Mrs. Breese is the mother of Mrs. Morse,* and sister to Mrs. Hazard, and will spend some time at Dr. Morse's. She will be accompanied by her daughter, Miss Breese, who was formerly at Charlestown. I know they will be glad of an acquaintance with yourself and the young ladies, and I think you will be pleased with an acquaintance with them.

Mrs. Hazard joins in affectionate remembrance of yourself and family with

Your friend and very humble servant,

EBEN. HAZARD.

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* Step-mother. The mother of Mrs. Morse was Rebecca Finley, daughter of the Rev. Samuel Finley, D.D. Her father, Judge Samuel Breese, of Shrewsbury, N.J., married, for his second wife, Elizabeth Anderson, daughter of Garland and Jane (Chevalier) Anderson. Mrs. Anderson married, for her second husband, Joseph Arthur, and their daughter Abigail was the wife of Ebenezer Hazard. Mrs. Hazard and Mrs. Breese were therefore half-sisters. Mrs. Morse was the only child of her mother, who died soon after the birth of her daughter, hardly nineteen years of age. — EDS.

APPENDIX

TO

THE BELKNAP PAPERS.

Since the publication of these two volumes of Belknap Papers, in 1877, copies of the following letters from Dr. Belknap to Mr. Hazard have been sent to the Society by Mr. Willis P. Hazard of West Chester, Pa., and are here inserted in this new issue of the volumes.

C. D.

January 20, 1882.

APPENDIX.

JEREMY BELKNAP TO EBENEZER HAZARD.

Dover, March 31, 1783.

My dear Sir, — Last week I sent you the copy of a form for proposals, in consequence of your very kind offer. I forgot then to add, though perhaps you will think of it without my mentioning it, that, as my London letters are forwarded, and perhaps arrived before now, the scheme of printing by *numbers*, which you seemed to approve, will not do; because by that means Mr. Longman will not have the *exclusive* privilege, if he chooses to accept it.

I leave it to your judgment to fix the price. I never had the idea of *binding* any greater number than what particular subscribers should desire; but I hope you will adopt the mode of stitching in boards, like the collection of the constitutions which you sent me. This is better than the method of stitching with an *awl* and thread, as our printers do here.

Did you ever, in observing the Aurora Borealis, perceive a *sound?* I own I once looked on the idea as frivolous and chimerical, having heard it at first from persons whose credulity I supposed exceeded their judgment. But upon hearing it repeatedly, and from some others whom I thought judicious and curious, I began to entertain an opinion in favor of it. I was strengthened in

this opinion about 2 years ago, by *listening* with attention to the flashing of a luminous arch which appeared in a calm frosty night, when I thought I heard a faint rustling noise, like the brushing of silk. Last Saturday evening I had full auricular demonstration of the reality of this phenomenon. About 10 o'clock the hemisphere was all in a glow; the vapor ascended from all points, and met in a central one at the zenith, all the difference between the south and north points of the heavens [being] that the vapor did not begin to ascend so near the horizons in the south as in the north. There had been a small shower, with a few thunder-claps and a bright rainbow in the afternoon, and there was a gentle western breeze in the evening, which came in flaws with intervals of 2 or 3 minutes. In these intervals I could plainly perceive the rustling noise, which was easily distinguishable from the sound of the wind, and could not be heard till the flaw had subsided. The flashing of the vapor was extremely quick, whether accelerated by the wind I cannot say; but from that quarter where the greatest quantity of the vapor seemed to be in motion the sound was plainest, and this, during my observation, was the eastern. The scene lasted about ½ an hour, though the whole night was as light as when the moon is in the quarters. May not this vapor be among the number of those instruments which the Creator has prepared to bring the heavens and earth into that volcanic state which I said something about in one of my late letters?

Did you ever meet with the law by which the witches were hanged? I have a printed copy of it among the acts of the Massachusetts General Court passed in the *wise* administration of Sir William Phips, *alias* Dr. Mather, and it is so curious as to deserve a place in your collection. If you have it not, I will send it to you.

This day we are to have a town-meeting, to see whether we will accept the Constitution. The inattention of the people to this very important matter is so great that I thought it my duty yesterday to preach from those words, Judges 19, 30: *Consider of it, take advice, and speak your minds.*

Mrs. Belknap is very poorly with a cough. It is of the whooping kind, the same which prevails now among children. She desires her respects to you.

Your very sincere friend and humble servant,

JEREMY BELKNAP.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

PORTSMOUTH, April 15, 1783.

MY DEAR SIR, — Your answer about Lady Bountiful, and, I might add, Lady Fruitful, gave me much diversion. You are obliged to my good friend Captain Waldron for that account of her and the query which was on the margin.

Last evening I got yours of 26th ultimo, and cannot but feel a satisfaction in having contributed to the entertainment of yourself and your worthy friend Ulysses. I think your criticism on "All Scripture," &c., is very just. The other text, "Savior of all men, especially," &c., is particularly noticed and applied in Dr. C.'s manuscript, much in the same manner that you have applied it.

The controversy has in some measure subsided at Boston, having produced about a dozen pamphlets, great and small. Among the rest, Brother Eccley has distinguished himself as a fair and honest disputant, though on the Hopkinsian plan. Our friend, the Plain Doctor's, performance I have not seen. I imagine and hope that

nothing further will appear on the side of the Restitution until the *Pudding* (as Dr. Ch——y calls his book) shall come forth *totis viribus*, but it must be sent to Europe to be printed.

There is an act preparing, if not done, at Boston, chiefly by the influence of Mr. Dwight, late tutor at Yale, now member of General Court and a preacher at Charlestown, similar to that in Connnecticut, in favor of literary property. I would put such a thing forward here if anybody would join. Perhaps when the other States have done it we may think it best to be in the fashion, though if it is not done I should run no risque of being printed upon in New Hampshire, while Dominie Fowle superintends the press. He is no genius for enterprise. If you should have a copy of the Connecticut or Pennsylvania act (when passed) to spare, I should be much obliged by the sight of it.

Mrs. Belknap is better than when I wrote before, and I apprehend her cough will go off like that of the children, which is abated. The Metropolitan and his lady, at whose house I write this are well; but she has had a sorrowful confinement this winter. Her child died in the parturition, a circumstance which I was not acquainted with when I mentioned the matter to you, and she was ill a long time.

The first chapter of my history is transcribed for the press; the rest will be as soon as I can get time, and it shall be sent whenever or in what proportion you shall think best.

I am, my dear sir, your much
obliged friend and servant,

Jer. Belknap.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

Dover, April 25, 1783.

My dear Sir, — You are well acquainted with the sentiments I entertain of the character of that illustrious chief whom Providence has raised up and supported to add a peculiar dignity to the noble struggle in which America has been obliged to engage in support of her rights and liberties. If anything could add to my veneration for him, it is the announcement contained in the "Freeman's Journal" of April 2, wherein he appears, by his conduct respecting the grievances of the army, a singular instance of that *heroic virtue* so much boasted of among the old Greeks and Romans. What a contrast to Cromwell, who, placed in the same circumstances, made use of his vast ascendency over the army to overturn the constitution which they had taken up arms to preserve! How happy to be born and live in an age which has produced so excellent a man!

But to business. You want a specimen of the style of my History to print with the Proposals. If the MS. was completely copied you should have it to pick a portion where you best like it. I have only the first chapter fit to send, and that I now cover to you. The rest shall follow as fast as it can be got ready. I think it not prudent to part with it out of my hands without keeping such a copy as I might depend upon in case any accident should befall the part which is gone from me. It may be that an author may not be the best judge what portion of his performance would serve for a specimen. But as you cannot *now* have the whole, you may either take a part of the 1st chapter or the conclusion of the 10th, which I will transcribe, and which I think may come in with propriety after the small note which I put into my

form of proposals, concerning the "early struggles and sufferings of New Hampshire." The chapter of which it is the conclusion contains a very long account of a bloody and distressing war of ten years, viz. from 1689 to 1698. If you think this too long for a specimen, you had better take some portion of the 1st chapter, for I do not well see how it can be abridged.

I have been encouraged to hope that when the subscription papers are handed along some gentlemen will advance their pay at the time of subscribing. This, if it can be done, will enable me to make you some remittance very early, which I would wish to do, lest your generosity to me should prove in any degree troublesome to yourself. I must beg the favor of you to let me know the exact amount of every article of expence as it arises, and if you think it proper to have any formal obligation from me, please to dictate the form, and it shall be executed immediately.

Since I wrote last, I have had opportunity for a cursory reading of the Plain Doctor's piece. I always liked him better in the character of a clergyman than in any other which he ever assumed; and I think this piece does him as much credit as any of his publications; he has certainly thumbed his lexicons laboriously, and said some things very well. But in my humble opinion, the point is not to be settled by criticism. It requires a large, generous, candid examination of those 2 great works of the same author, the Book of Nature and the Book of Revelation. They are the best comments on each other, and must not be studied separately.

After a more mature consideration of the propriety of prefixing my conjectures on the population of America to my history, I think I am inclined to omit it, for these reasons: 1. Because, though I can truly say they are with respect to me *original, i. e.* I did not adopt them

from others, yet I find, on examination, that some other writers have had thoughts of a like turn, particularly *Hornius*, so that it cannot be regarded by men of letters as anything *new*. 2. Because some of the universal *expressions* on which I lay great stress are differently understood, and will not be admitted by gentlemen of another way of thinking as sufficient foundation for an agreement. It might also draw me into the vortex of the present controversy, in which I do not wish to make any figure. 3. Because, it not being a general History of America, the thoughts are not necessarily connected with my subject, and though a candid friend might indulge me the liberty of offering my conjectures, yet perhaps they would hardly pass among critical reviewers.

We have at last got the news of peace from Charles Thomson, and some of our good *friends* would not believe it till it came under his hand! Does not this peace bring Britain down to her proper level, and, by cutting her off from Continental connexions, reduce her to the state in which the Stuart family would always have kept her, knowing she was but an island. Ah my friend, does it not illustrate the Scripture? does it not prove her one of the broken toes of Nebuchadezzar's image, an incoherent mixture of iron and clay? I assure you the thought of this has been for several years a great support to my mind, and even in the height of our distresses, in the spring of 1777, I ventured a sermon on the subject, which was intended to comfort the sorrowful and confirm the doubting. I was then persuaded that, however the war should end, we, once disunited, should never be again restored to our connexion with her.

What miserable beings are the Tories! True sons of Cain, they must wander forlorn, exposed to the hatred and contempt of mankind. But I am sorry to see the fiery spirit against them break out so suddenly in a Boston

town-meeting, before Congress have performed the engagement entered into by the Provisional Treaty and the States have deliberated upon it. I cannot say that I wish the poor wretches here again, nor would I advise them to come, if they might, for I am persuaded their lives would not be safe; but let the matter pass regularly through the proper forms, and not the mob assume government.

Could you forbear smiling when reading the treaty with Spain, to see the et ceteras annexed to the Count D'Aranda's name,

"Stuck o'er with titles, strung round with strings"?

I could not but recollect an anecdote I have somewhere met with of one of those Castilian grandees who, being benighted on a journey, called late at a French inn for a lodging. The host enquired who was there, upon which he began to tell over his names and titles, but before he had done the Frenchman shut his window, telling him that he had not room enough in his house to accommodate *so many* gentlemen, and that they must go elsewhere.

Mrs. B. is much better than when I wrote before. She thanks you for your kind remembrance of her, and gives you her cordial salutations. How long do you intend to remain "conjugii nescius?" and shelter yourself under the example of Stoughton?

If your affairs will not permit your visiting these parts, I must submit, though I know no person whose company would afford me more pleasure. Your kind attention to my entertainment and to my interest must fix my grateful and affectionate esteem of so worthy a friend; and I am, my dear sir,

Unfeignedly and largely yours,

J. Belknap.

P.S. If you have a mind for the contents of the several chapters, you have them along with the extract from chapter 10.

I can fully depend on your not suffering the manuscript to go out of your hands till it is put to the press, before which it is probable I shall hear from London. When a sheet is printed you will send, by the post, one to me, and, if I should make an agreement with Longman, one to him; but of this you will have further advice.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

Monday, July 19, 1784.

My dear Sir, — I have not (the weather having been wet and much rain for several days) been able to get any intelligence from the post-office since the last post day, so have nothing very particular to say at this time, excepting that I expect (if my company arrive) to set out this afternoon for the White Mountains, as I mentioned in my last week's letter. If I should go and come well, you will probably hear largely from me at the end of a fortnight from this date.

Inclosed you have a letter for General Washington, which you will be so kind as to forward, with one (decently bound) copy of my History, and please to let him know that it comes through your hands.

Mrs. B. and my family are well. Please to give our respects to Mrs. Hazard, and believe me

Your affectionate friend,

Jere. Belknap.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

PORTSMOUTH, August 6, 1784.

MY VERY DEAR FRIEND, — Last Saturday I returned from my journey, in which I encompassed the White Mountains and partly ascended the highest, which, being in an angle of 45°, proved rather too fatiguing for my thorax, and, after labouring for 2 hours, I was obliged to leave my company to pursue the ascent, which they accomplished in about 3 hours more. The particulars of the rest of my tour I shall give you another time.

I have this day found 3 letters from you in this town, and one I received just as I was setting out on my journey. You will excuse my not saying anything in particular in answer to them till I get home. If I can write per next post I will, but am loth to leave this town without saying something to so good a friend.

If I were of the mind of an old gentleman whom I once knew, I should *congratulate* you on the "friendly earnest of four score," of which you complain; but I have not such an opinion of long life in this world as some people are fond of entertaining and I know enough of the pains you have experienced, to think you would be pleased with a congratulation. Patience and flannel, my good friend, will do more than anything, and, from my own experience, I can tell you that a piece of lean raw beef applied to the hands and feet when hard swelled, and shifted every 12 hours, will soften the skin and help the exudation of the morbific matter. But I hope, before this reaches you, you will be past needing this help.

May Heaven spare your child, or, if taken away, grant you the comfort of believing that the promise of salvation extends to it, — notwithstanding all that Adam and Eve did.

Mrs. B. was well this morning, and freely joins in cordial respects to you and Mrs. Hazard.

I am ever yours,

JER. BELKNAP.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

DOVER, August 26, 1784.

MY DEAR WORTHY AND GOOD SIR, — I had nothing from you last week. I have finished the Memoir to the Society, which I told you I had begun, and it is here inclosed. Should there be any motion to make it public in any form, I must beg you to use your influence that it may not, being intended as a part of my 2d volume.

My worthy and good friend and companion on my late journey, the Rev. Manasseh Cutler, of Ipswich, merits highly in the literary way; he is a member of the Boston Academy, and a very active and useful one. If he does not belong to that of Philadelphia, he richly deserves an election; and, if it were not too assuming in me to recommend him, I certainly would do it.

I wish you would let me know the exact name or quality of the paper on which you write your letters, that I may get some of the same.

Mrs. B. desires her love to Mrs. Hazard. I am, with cordial respects to you both,

Your friend and humble servant,

JERE. BELKNAP.

If you see anything in the inclosed that needs correction, I beg you would take the pains to make it.

In the note subjoined to the Memoir, where I say "some samples of rock-chrystal have been found," please to add the word *lately;* because it is mentioned in my History that some such were found *formerly*.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

Dover, August 30, 1784.

Dear Sir, — Yours of the 16th instant came to hand this morning. 'T is as you thought. I never entertained the least idea of insuring the books; and you will not wonder at it when you consider that I never had the least concern in the matters of trade, any further than spending money when I had it. But your words are ambiguous, — "I think it will be prudent to insure." If you mean for *you* to insure in my behalf, it is doubtless already done; and as I have full confidence in your judgment and fidelity in all matters of meum and tuum, I not only acquiesce in it, but am much obliged to you for it. But if you mean prudent for *me* to insure them, I am at a non plus; for 15 days are elapsed, in which time the vessel may probably have arrived, and in that case the affair is at an end. If she is not arrived, as there has been no stormy weather (though some rainy) within that period, and it will probably be two or three days more before I can send to Boston, it will have an odd look for me to insure *now*. It will look as if I thought the vessell was lost, and wanted to save myself at the expense of the under*takers*, — I mean under*writers*. In this non-plus I have no friend at hand who understands such matters to advise with; therefore I must, for my own present ease of mind, put such a construction on your letter as will agree with the first proposition, and, confiding in the rectitude of your intentions and the sincerity of your concern for my interest, must attribute the ambiguity of your expression to the ill state of your health, of which I am informed by the 1st sentence in your letter, and have additional evidence in the alteration of the handwriting, which, however, is not so great

as would have been the case with me if I had had a visit from my old acquaintance, the rheumatic fever. Lest you should think that my hand at this time is out of order, I would advertise you that the cause of my writing so ill is that I lent my penknife to Mrs. B. about 3 hours ago, and she has gone on a visit to Rochester, and I suppose has carried it with her, for I cannot find it. I wish and pray for the restoration of your health. If it was not *wicked*, I could almost wish that you might be *obliged* to take a journey northward, that so I might have the pleasure of seeing you, for my mother's illness will certainly prevent my journeying while it continues.

You have informed me of 613 copies sent to Boston, part of which are for Portsmouth. Please also to let me know how many more were printed; and if Mr. Aitken has not sent his account before this reaches you, pray let it be forwarded as speedily as possible.

I hope before now you have got my *first* letter, containing 3 such sheets as this. Two more such packets are on the road, in which you will have as much of the White Mountains as a sick man can bear. With cordial salutations to Mrs. Hazard, I am, dear sir,

Your affectionate and obliged friend,

JERE. BELKNAP.

P.S. I rejoice most sincerely to hear that your son is recovered. When you have recovered too, as I trust you will after the dog-day heats are over, my joy will be complete. 'T is good, however, my friend, to have these cuffs and rubs; they make us more sensible of the value of health. This, as well as all our enjoyments, are heightened by contrasts.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

Sunday evening, September 12, 1784.

Dear Sir, — Yours of 30th ultimo came to hand yesterday, by which I find that your weakness of nerves continues. I know how to pity you. Your inward man is strong enough, though your hand flutters when you write. You will gather strength by degrees, and you must *husband* it well; and this word *husband* leads to an idea which, without any shandyizing, ought to be attended to, — *nam in gremio Veneris sunt multa pericula, et ægroti cavere debent.* I write as Solomon did his Book of Ecclesiastes, — "ab Experientia." . . . .

The books are arrived at Boston and Portsmouth. I shall expect some of them here to-morrow. Please to let Mr. A. know that Mr. Hastings in unpacking them (for they were put in a damp store at Boston, and he was afraid of damage); found 500 in boards, 100 bound, and 3 extra bound, which amounts to 603. There is, therefore, a deficiency of 10, which must be by some mistake, for 613 are mentioned in the invoice.

My mother's illness increases, which prevents my enlarging, as I have several letters to write this evening and must visit her too. Love to you all.

Your friend, Jer. Belknap.

The famous Mrs. Macaulay, now Graham, is at Portsmouth. I called at Dr. Bracket's last Thursday, and she was gone to Exeter with his wife. She lodges where you did, at Colonel Langdon's. I send you a Portsmouth paper, for the sake of a good proposal about thieves in page 1.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

SUNDAY EVENING, September 19, 1784.

DEAR SIR, — I have not had anything as *yet* from the office since last post. The weather has been stormy for 2 days, but this morning cleared up, and the Freemason was so good as to come up and preach for me. He must go down again to-night, for reasons best known to people newly married. I therefore will not omit the opportunity of writing, though I have nothing particular to say.

I am, dear sir, with cordial respects to Mrs. H., in which Mrs. B. joins.

Your most obliged and obedient,

JER. BELKNAP.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

DOVER, October 2, 1784.

MY DEAR SIR, — It gives me great satisfaction to find in yours of 14th ultimo no complaint of weak limbs or nerves, and to see your handwriting as it should be. From these negative premises, I think I may draw a positive conclusion that you are recovered of your late illness. But I am concerned for your infant, — may gracious heaven spare its life, and make it a rich blessing to you.

I have drawn a new power of attorney, agreeable to Mr. A.'s mind. His extreme delicacy in the article of *promising* induces a great degree of confidence in him. The term *bookseller* was in the draught which you sent me in the spring. I shall hope that, in some of the late stages of Josey's apprenticeship, he will learn something of the business of tending shop and keeping accounts,

which is all that I should have expected if the term had been retained; and, if his genius should lead him to bargaining and traffick, he will get such insight into the business as will serve his turn. I beg you would previously ask him his full and hearty consent to be bound, and let him be explicit in his answer, and, if it be not too much trouble, read over his indenture with a comment, so as to make him understand it and impress on his mind the importance and utility of such a conduct as it obliges him to. I leave it with you either to keep the indenture in your hands or send it to me, as you think most proper.

As to my writing "more essays on man," if you can bear with them, and can find matter and time, 'tis probable you will not complain *for want* of them. It is a singular pleasure to me to be able to contribute to your amusement.

If there is any printed paper of rules or institutions for the Philosophical Society, I should be glad to have it. They threaten to put me into the American Academy at Boston.

October 4.

Inclosed you have a new power. I cannot now add, for 'tis time to look out for an opportunity to send this to to Portsmouth to go by to-morrow's post. The wind is rising, which is an untoward circumstance in passing the ferry, and may prevent my getting it down.

Love to Mrs. Hazard from Mrs. B. and

Your affectionate, JERE. BELKNAP.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

DOVER, Oct. 17, 1784.

DEAR SIR, — My good mother is at length released from her confinement by the hand of Death, having patiently and quietly resigned her spirit to the Father of Spirits on the 12th instant. I shall now be more at liberty to attend to the affair of my books, and intend, *Deo volente*, to set out for Boston some time this week. I shall desire Mr. Libbey to put what cash he has into a bill and send it, per next post, for Mr. Aitken, who, by his letters, is rather streightned. When I get to Boston I will send another from thence, and write you more particularly.

I am, dear sir, with cordial respects to Mrs. H., in which Mrs. B. joins,

Your affectionate friend, JERE. BELKNAP.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

BOSTON, October 28, 1784.

MY DEAR SIR, — I have by this day's conveyance written to Mr. Aitken for some more books, and should be glad you would insure them as before. I have desired him not to forget your *de la Vega*.

I had a letter from you last Saturday, and another the week before. I can read French with the help of dictionary and grammar. Is the "Magnetic Bucket," advertised in your Courier de l'Amérique, a piece of fun or of quackery? Some years since everything was to be cured by *electricity*, then by *tar-water*. What will come next?

Shall write you more largely by next mail. Mr. Hastings, in whose office I close this, is just making up.

Your obliged friend and servant,

JER. BELKNAP.

Love to Mrs. H.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

Boston, Nov. 1, 1784.

My dear Friend, — I find by yours of 23d ultimo, which Mr. Hastings delivered me Saturday evening, that Mrs. Hazard has taken her turn to be sick; and I do not wonder at it, as I am sure she must have been much exercised with yours and your son's illness. But how happy is it that you are not all down at once! To have so much sickness at your first setting out in a family way is a severe tryal; but tryals are always accompanied with some alleviating and consoling circumstances, and, among others, you may reckon my *not* coming to Philadelphia this fall, for as things have happened with you this would have been an additional burden. Providence often disposes of us and provides better for us than we are aware. I shall anxiously expect to hear by the next that your dear partner is recovered. May gracious Heaven bless you both and make your little son a peculiar blessing to you.

My son Josey (who has something of an inquisitive mind) asked me for an account of the White Mountains. In answer, I told him that you had a full account in my letters, and that he would probably have an opportunity of hearing you read it to Mr A. He informs me in his last that he has not yet had that pleasure. I beg leave to repeat the request which I formerly made on this subject, and doubt not, when you have a leisure hour, you will gratify him. I thank you for presenting my book, etc., to the Society. Has one been sent to General Washington?

The success of my publication in these parts has not been so great as I wished. The alteration of the price to non-subscribers was an unfavorable circumstance, and

I have been obliged to reduce it. I have directed the stitched copies to be uniformly sold at 8*s.*, but it is probably too late for many purchasers. I wish I had done it sooner. My inability to come to Boston when the books first arrived, was another misfortune; but as Providence unavoidably hindered me, and I am satisfied it was my duty to be at home, I am perfectly easy on that score. Another thing is, that a book of Dr. Chauncy's, printed in England, of about the same size with mine and handsomely bound, is sold here for 9*s.*, while mine are at 12*s.* This is, by the way, his famous work on Universal Salvation, which I formerly told you of; and it is a performance that has already quieted and satisfied many minds, and I trust will do much good. The Doctor tells me that the copies cost him, bound, but 3*s.* 4*d.* sterling. I will get you one and send it, if Mr. Hastings thinks it will not make too big a packet. What I chiefly regret is, that the *first run* of my book should not produce a sufficiency to pay the expenses of publication, and that Mr. A. should be obliged to wait for his money, as I fear he will, longer than he or I would wish. An unexpected circumstance has also arisen. I find it very difficult to find any person *here* that can draw bills on Philadelphia. Mr. Hastings and Mr. Russell have been engineering since I have been in town and cannot hear of any; and if I do not this forenoon get some information, I shall be obliged to take what money there is here and carry it to Portsmouth, where I hope I shall be able to obtain one of Colonel Langdon, as I did for Mr. Libbey's money. These are totally new scenes to me, and if I should appear awkward and blundering in my *mercantile* character, you must excuse it. I want to have a full statement of the whole account, debtor and creditor, from you and Mr. A., and to know what has been collected from subscribers at the southward, that I may see what more is expected

from this way. The bound books sell much better than the others, and I have desired Mr. A. to send all that he can spare, and let them all be *bound.*

I forget whether I mentioned to you that I left the 2 morocco bound ones in the hands of Mr. Pickering, to be presented one to each branch of our General Assembly, which is now sitting. You shall hear what reception they meet with on my return.

My paper is now lying on your Garcilasso de la Vega, which arrived here just after I had sent away my last by the post. I shall take it home with me and con it over in the course of the winter. I thank you for your attention in this and every other matter.

Our friend the Freemason has been sick, and now looks very poorly. He is a most worthy character; but it is rather unfortunate that he went out of Boston for a wife! Colonel Waters, at whose house I write this, desires his *cordial* respects to you; and if you knew him as well as I, you cannot doubt his sincerity.

The fellows that stole an iron chest, with jewelry, &c., at Philadelphia lately were detected here last Saturday, on 'change, where they were offering their jewels, and are now in confinement. A most singular confession of piracy and murder was made at the Supreme Court at Cambridge the same day. The person murdered was a Captain White, who sailed from Philadelphia for Nova Scotia. The particulars I heard related last evening, and — but as I am told they will be in the papers, I shall not repeat them. My most sincere respects to Mrs. H., and wishes and prayers for her recovery and confirmed health must conclude this from your most affectionate friend,

JEREMY BELKNAP.

Has my book been advertised in your paper?

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

Boston, Nov. 3, 1784. — Wednesday Evening.

My dear Sir, — At length, after much fruitless enquiry, I have prevailed upon Mr. Eliot to draw on General Mifflin for some money due to him, and accordingly I inclose a bill drawn in your favor, which I wish you would divide between yourself and Mr. Aitken, and let me know the success of it by the first opportunity. Should any difficulty arise (there ought to be none, and I presume will not, but in case there should), Mr. Eliot has the money in his hands, and you will please to draw on him for it. I did not conceive the scarcity of bills was as it is, but every gentleman here almost finds the same difficulty. I expect to leave this town to-morrow, and shall write again as soon as I reach home.

Hoping this will find Mrs. Hazard better, and wishing her and you every blessing, I am, dear sir,

Your most affectionate friend, Jeremy Belknap.

You will please to let the letter of advice accompany the bill when presented.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD

Dover, Nov. 8, 1784.

Dear Sir, — At my return home I found your letter of 12th ultimo, with the account, which letter I missed receiving in season by means of my journey. This will apologize for my asking the account in one of my letters from Boston. I hope the bill sent you on General Mifflin will balance your account, and go some way toward paying Mr. Aitken.

I have not time to add anything but that I am, as ever,

Your obliged friend and servant, J. Belknap.

Mrs. B.'s love and mine to Mrs. H. Hope she is better.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

Dover, November 16, 1784.

My dear Sir, — By the account you sent me of subscription money received at Philadelphia, I find that I am under great obligation to the worthy Ulysses, and, from the nature of the business, I know that he must have had my interest much at heart, and have exerted himself to promote it. Be so kind as to let him know how much I esteem his favours. I hope it will some time or other be in my power to thank him in person.

One of my greatest concerns at present is, that Mr. Aitken be paid. I have done all in my power to make him remittances, which as yet fall very short of his due. I gave you an account from Boston of the reasons which have operated to prevent the speedy sale of the books, and I may add to them that a report has been circulated that *I* am to make *great profits* by the work. This opinion, joined with the high price of the book, has, I am persuaded, been of much disservice to the cause, and I have even been vexed with *congratulations* on the subject. But we must, as the old saying is, "live and learn;" and if I should ever have another book to print, and be obliged to be author and *publisher* too, I hope I shall know a little more about the matter.

Pray tell me whether the Boston bank bills would do to make a remittance to Philadelphia. They are in high credit in these parts. If they bear as good a character with you, I may be able to send Mr. Aitken a few driblets in this way during the winter. But bills of exchange are exceedingly scarce.

Enclosed is the product of a part of last Friday. I pass it through your hands for correction; and if our friend Aitken can make any pence by it at the season it

is calculated for, please to tell him he is welcome to it. Such *bagatelles* may not come amiss, especially when there is some moral instruction conveyed, for "A verse may catch him who a sermon flies."

Saturday and Sunday the weather was stormy, with much rain, and the travelling is now so bad that I have not heard from the post-office. The season is now approaching when my correspondence with you will be very much interrupted; but I desire you would write, though my letters may not come regularly. I am now *denned* like the bears till next April, but have taken care to lay in a stock of literary fodder. Your de la Vega is on board a coaster, which I hope has arrived by this time. This, with 4 volumes of Johnson's Lives of the Poets and 16 volumes of Rollin's Roman History, which I borrowed at Boston, will enable me to chew the cud through a great part of the ensuing winter.

Mrs. B. desires her best regards to your *self*, including both parts of it. Why may not you and I use the regal style, and say *ourself*. I wish no greater impropriety had ever come from the throne. What a miserable figure will *the puppet* who now sits there make in history!

> "I'd rather be a dog and bay the moon
> Than *such* a Briton!"

I am, dear sir, with warmest regards,
Your affectionate friend,

JEREMY BELKNAP.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

DOVER, Dec. 11, 1784.

DEAR SIR, — Yours of 23d ultimo is handed me this evening, inclosing one from Mr. Aitken, which informs of 100 more copies of my book, and accompanied with

one from Mr. Hastings announcing their safe arrival at Boston. I am much pleased to hear that the draught on General Mifflin is accepted.

I have been reading Johnson's Lives of the Poets, and it is enough to give one an emetic for authorship. Some *few* of his heroes got a laurel (*i. e.* an appointment as Laureat), or a pension, or a round sum, but the bigger part of them, with all their genius and wit and learning and application, were beggars, or sycophants, or toad-eaters, or servile dependents on booksellers, players, and ministers of State. But though they lived and died poor, yet some of them fared as well *after death* as the Jewish prophets, having monuments erected to their memory, — a poor consolation, however, to survivors! I think somebody wrote on Butler, "He asked for bread, and he received *a stone.*"

I am now at work on Garcilasso, and though I suspect a great part is fabulous and I am unable to distinguish the fable from the truth, yet his account of Peruvian government and manners does so much honor to human nature, that I read it with as much avidity as a girl of sixteen does a love tale. I think Sir William Temple has ranked Manco Capac among the first instances of *heroic virtue.* He certainly deserves celebration as much as Eneas and more than Achilles; and if I had Pope's genius, and *his fortune too* (mind), I would write a Peruvian heroic poem, and the scene of a great part of it should be at Cusco.

How does the little boy? Does he begin to use his *legs?* In 6 months more I shall ask the same of his *tongue.* Give our love to Mrs. Hazard, and accept the same from Mrs. B. as well as your obedient and obliged friend,

Jere. Belknap.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

Dover, May 8, 1786.

Dear Sir, — Your 2 letters of 12 and 15 April are received. I thank you for your fidelity in the information respecting the young gentleman. The inclosed contains some hints of advice, which I hope will prove salutary; and I should like to know from his master what effect it has. Perhaps you can get the information more readily than I can. I have no doubt he will turn out good when his volatility is corrected by judgment and experience; but it is best to keep up the lecture, because, as Solomon says, "With the well-advised there is wisdom."

I am sorry they have printed my account of the White Mountains, but it is now too late for remedy. Our Academy Memoirs have at length, after long labor, emerged from the press, but I have not seen the book. Our New England printers in general are a low-lived crew, and some of them downright blackguards. I except Hall and Mycal, who are the best of the profession that I am acquainted with.

According to your request, I have desired Mr. Libbey to put on board the French packet, M. Abbeville, 50 copies of my History for you. Be so good as to accept of one at least for yourself; and, if it be not too much trouble (since you have mentioned Dr. Ramsay), I could wish to negotiate an exchange with him for his History, and will pay the difference. If you receive any money for the rest, pray remit it to Aitken on my account. I am grievously concerned for him, fearing he will not be paid very soon, as the sales are nearly at an end here, and I have been obliged to give up 300 dollars which was due to me from my people, rather than see an innocent man go to jail, which was all the fruit of my

long lawsuit with them. I have since that given them a quitclaim for any future salary, and now stand ready to quit them wholly as soon as I can get any prospect elsewhere.

Boston, 12 May.

The French packet was ready to sail when I left Portsmouth, and is only waiting for a wind. She is a complete ship, built by our New England genius *Peck*.

If you should advertise my books in New York, what if you should insert the account given of the work in the Monthly Review for October, 1785? I do not transcribe it, because I know you can get it. Pray be so kind as to send one copy to Dr. Stiles, in performance of a promise I made him last fall at Rhode Island to give one to the library of Yale College; and inform him that, if he thinks it probable, as he did then, that any will sell at New Haven, he may have some either from you or from me. I left orders here last fall to send him a dozen, but they are here yet.

I must close in haste, but will write again from home.

Your affectionate friend,

J. Belknap.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

Boston, 28 March, 1789.

My dear Sir, — I find that in prosecuting Penn's life I must crave a little of your assistance. In Jefferson's notes there is a list of American state papers, — I suppose the same with your collection, — and, among the rest, "Proceedings of the Lords of Trade in a dispute between Lord Baltimore and W. Penn," from 1683 to

1685. Now, my dear sir, will you give me such a summary account of this dispute and its termination as will be sufficient for my purpose? I know you will.

Oldmixon speaks of a manor belonging to Penn, called Pennsbury, where he built "a very fine seat," a brick house, orchards, &c. He describes it as "seated in a *treble island*, the Delaware running 3 times about it," and, by what I can discover, it is not far from Bristol. Do you know the place? In what manner does the Delaware run 3 times about it? Is it in this form . . . or this . . . ?* What is the present state, and to whom does it now belong? Do you know where his *city* residence was, and is the house now, or was it lately, in being?

Can you give me any other anecdotes concerning him. Are there any in Dr. Franklin's book entitled "An Historical Review of the Constitution and Government of Pennsylvania?" My present materials are Penn's Works, folio, with his Life prefixed; Oldmixon's British Empire; Colden's 5 Nations; and a MS. Life of Penn, which you once sent me, extracted from a British magazine. Can you direct me to any other?

In the charter granted to Penn by Charles 2d, his bounds are to the 43d degree of latitude; but in the map of Pennsylvania, in the Colonial Magazine for January, the 42d degree bounds it, though the Delaware extends further. Is this owing to a construction of the charter in favor of New York State, or to any subsequent agreement between them? and, if the latter, when and by whom was it made? How came Pennsylvania to

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* Two small pen-drawings of possible ways in which a river may circumscribe an estate are here omitted as matters of no great consequence, particularly as Mr. Hazard, in his reply to this letter, says that he never heard this story of the Delaware running three times round Pennsbury. See p. 114 of this volume. — Eds.

extend more than 5 degrees of longitude, the bounds mentioned in the charter?

Lord's Day morning, March 29, 1789.

Last evening, at ½ after nine, God was pleased to take my dear child to himself. He was in a calm, placid frame, and with his last rational breath expressed a strong hope in Christ, and committed his soul to him. Blessed be the name of my heavenly Father. He gives me every consolation that I could expect. Adieu. Our love to you and yours.

J. Belknap.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

Boston, Oct. 3, 1789.

My dear Sir, — Thursday evening I received yours of 27 ultimo, announcing the very disagreeable tidings of a change in the office of postmaster-general. Yesterday morning the letter was sent to Mr. Morse, who wrote a billet expressive of his sympathy, and Mr. Hastings was here 2 or 3 times to mingle his tears on the occasion. In the afternoon Mr. John Eliot came here, and was made acquainted with it. Presently, Dr. Appleton (a very worthy friend, though to you unknown) came in, and, while we were lamenting together your hard fate, Mr. Wingate arrived in a very short passage from New York, and joined with us; so that we really had a *very friendly mourning;* and this day Colonel Waters has joined in it. We are all sincerely grieved on your account. But what shall I say to comfort you?

'T is certainly best, my dear friend, that we should sometimes be placed in such a situation as to experience more sensibly than common our dependence on Provi-

dence, the uncertainty of temporal enjoyments, and the value of what we have remaining to us when part of our comforts is cut off. The feelings and exercises of a pious mind on such occasions will serve to fix more firmly the principles on which its best hopes are built. I have myself been in such a situation, and I have reaped benefit by it; and I doubt not you will find it good for you to be thus *thrown upon Providence.* Nothing was a greater comfort to me when in that situation than the lines of Dr. Watts, —

> "I to my God my ways commit,
> And chearful wait his will;
> Thy hand which guides my *doubtful* feet
> Will my desires fulfil,"

and the event answered my expectations. You are capable of being useful; you are desirous to be so; your abilities and fidelity are well known. Therefore, there is all the reason in the world to expect that Providence has only given you an opportunity for the exercise of those virtues which are necessary on such an occasion, and that some other door of usefulness will be opened to you, and, I hope, before long. In the mean time, what if you should take a little exercise? What if you should make an excursion hither, and let us sympathize *in* person? Or, if you think it more advantageous, go to Philadelphia and see your friends there. Snatch a little time for relaxation, for you have been *too* tightly employed. You will find a vast benefit from air and exercise, — you will find yourself better in body and mind. If you do not, I am afraid that your successor, being unused to the business, will have to go to school to you, and you will have to teach him his duty, which will be confinement without profit to you. I suspect that the letter which you wrote to the President will prove very advantageous

to your successor, and that he will have all the assistance of which you was destitute to enable him to carry on the business. You have really had a hard lot; but you have kept a good conscience, and that is worth more than the President's salary.

Give yourself no concern about our correspondence: it will not cease with your office. It began before you had it, and I trust it will continue, though perhaps it may not be so frequent. Mr. Hastings will frank this; and if he is continued, as I hope he will be, there will be no difficulty. My affection is engaged to the *man*, and he is the same still, though out of office. Do you think of any way in which anything that I can say or do will be of service to you? Will you prosecute your old plan of a magazine? Will you be connected with Thomas? He is continually soliciting me to be concerned in his magazine, but I constantly plead off, having so many engagements on my hands.

You are welcome to Marant's sermon. I suppose I can get another. What else can I do to divert or amuse you?

Mrs. Belknap is most sincerely grieved, and desires her very particular regards both to you and Mrs. Hazard. There is a great degree of comfort in our female friendships on such trying occasions!

I am, dear sir, very affectionately,

Your constant friend,

Jeremy Belknap.

P.S. Please give me the number of your house and the street, that I may direct properly, if I have a private opportunity for conveyance.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

Boston, June 1, 1792.

Sir, — I have the pleasure of informing you that *the Historical Society* lately established here have done themselves the honor of electing you one of their corresponding members. In their name, I ask your acceptance of the election, and that you will unite your efforts with theirs to promote the valuable purpose of the institution.

I enclose a copy of the constitution of the Society and their circular letter; and am, Sir,

With much respect, your very humble servant,

Jeremy Belknap,
Corresponding Secretary.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

Boston, Aug. 1, 1792.

Dear Sir, — Our society met yesterday, and your book was presented, in consequence of which you have the inclosed. I sent one of your books to Mr. Wallcut, and (as I expected) he returned it. His very delicate mind would not permit him to take any *reward* for his trouble in collecting subscriptions. I talked with him some time, and said everything that I could with propriety to induce his acceptance, but it was all in vain. You may, notwithstanding, at any future time, expect him to do you the like or any other service, and you cannot oblige him more than by asking such a favor of him. He is now equally assiduous in procuring subscriptions for *John Carey's* collection. Is it not strange that we should be obliged to a newly imported Hibernian for *disclosing* to us *the secrets* of our own Government? Will his work have any better fate than Andrew Brown's?

I have received no answer from Mr. Charles Thomson.

I have heard that he is engaged in a new translation of *the Bible!!* How much better had *he* been employed in telling us some of the secrets of the old Congress!!

My attention is now directed to the preparing of a discourse to be delivered before our Society, publickly on the 23d of October next, being the completion of the 3d century since the discovery of America by Columbus, which we intend to celebrate as a festival, and with decent religious solemnity.

I should not be a faithful friend if I forbore to tell you the remarks which are made by gentlemen of sense and learning on your book. Many of the papers, it is said, are useless. Those which are extracted from books of which there are copies in many people's hands, as Hutchinson's Collection, are said to be superfluous, and a reference to the book and page, with the title of the paper, might answer the same end. However, it is looked upon as a valuable collection, though it is feared it will be voluminous and expensive. I think you mentioned in one of your letters that it would be more likely to consist of 4 volumes than 2, as was first proposed. This I *carefully conceal;* and whenever I am asked *how many* volumes, I answer *one*, and I know not how many more, or whether any. I have received $52\frac{1}{2}$ dollars of subcribers, to whom books have been delivered, and wait your directions how to dispose of the money.

The binding of my 3d volume is almost completed, when I hope for a fuller sale, as there will then be complete sets to be sold. It has been a laborious and expensive undertaking, and my profits are all *to come*, — what a blessing is *hope!*

We have here a Mr. Miller, a Presbyterian minister, from Dover, in Delaware. He has visited me once with letters of recommendation, and is to preach for me next Sunday, if a cold which he has taken on his journey do not prevent.

I enclose a letter for W. Sargent. Do not send it by post; but if you know of any trusty person bound to the Trans-Allegany country, let it go by him; if not, please to put it into the office of H. K., Secretary of War Department.

Last week I was at Brother Cutler's. He shewed me a neat pocket thermometer, which he bought at Philadelphia, and I wish you to get me one *exactly* like it. The price was 4 dollars. It is less than a foot long, in a flat shagreen case, lined with soft silk. It has an *ivory scale*, which is best for immersion in fluids; it is moveable from its case. I think the maker's name is Poyntell, but that is not material. It was bought at a shop in Second Street south, east side, between Dobson's and the market. The shopkeeper's name he could not recollect; but it is a miscellaneous shop, — knives, scissors, purses, and fringes were a part of the furniture. He says there were other shops which sold thermometers, but this was the cheapest. If you can get me *such an one precisely*, be so good as to put it up safely and send it by the next vessel that comes. All friends well, and send love to you and yours. Your friend,

J. Belknap.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

Boston, Aug. 1, 1792.

Sir,— I am directed by the Historical Society to thank you in their name for the first volume of "Historical Collections," presented to them by you. They receive with pleasure this mark of your attention, and consider your acceptance of your election into their body as an honour to the institution and a pledge of your assiduity in forwarding its design.

I am, sir, your very humble servant,

Jeremy Belknap,
Corresponding Secretary.

LETTERS AND DOCUMENTS

RELATING TO

SLAVERY IN MASSACHUSETTS.

PREFATORY NOTE.

On the 24th of January, 1795, Judge St. George Tucker, of Williamsburg, Va., addressed a letter to Dr. Belknap, enclosing a number of queries respecting slavery in Massachusetts, to which he solicited answers. Dr. Belknap printed these several queries as a circular letter, and distributed about forty copies "among such gentlemen as it was supposed would assist in answering them." Appended to the queries was the following letter: —

Sir, — The above queries are sent to me by a gentleman in Virginia, whose view appears to be to assist in removing the difficulties which attend the question of a general emancipation of slaves in that State.

Being desirous of collecting the best information for him, I beg leave to submit the queries to your consideration, asking the favour of you to furnish me, as soon as may be, with your sentiments on any of them which it is in your power to answer.

Your most obedient servant,

Jeremy Belknap.

Boston, February 17, 1795.

To what number of these circulars sent out Dr. Belknap received answers, we have no means certainly of knowing. "Some of them," he says, "gave answers from which, and from other sources of information," he drew up an interesting paper, which he sent to Judge Tucker, and which that same year was printed in the third serial of Volume IV. of the Collections of this Society, at pages

191–211: the communication as printed bore date "April 21, 1795."

Answers from seven prominent citizens of Massachusetts are preserved in the Society's archives, along with the original manuscript draft of Dr. Belknap's answer to Judge Tucker. It is quite probable that there were but few if any others. In the manuscript draft referred to, Dr. Belknap often cites his authorities in the margin, as "Winthrop's Journal, p. 19"; "Prince's Annals, p. 241"; "Josselyn's Voyage, p. 12"; "p. 28"; "Records of Genl. Court in Ms., 14d. 3mo. (May)"; "Appendix to 2d Vol. of Neal's Hist'y N. E."; "Mass. Colony Laws, p. 15"; "Ibid., p. 105"; "Josselyn's Voyages, p. 182"; "See Hist'y of New Hampshire, Vol. I. p. 143, 245"; "Holyoke's Letter"; "Dexter's Letter"; "Winthrop's Letter."

He also makes a note of "Sullivan's Letter," from which he took several extracts, and incorporated them into a later transcript, or into his final revision for the press; Sullivan's letter not having been written till after Dr. Belknap's paper had been drawn up and submitted to him. There is also placed in the margin the name of "D^n. Mason" against the passage, under the second query, where he says, "I cannot find, by inquiring of our oldest merchants now living, that more than three ships in a year, from the port of Boston, were ever engaged in the African trade." (See the printed volume, p. 196.) And in the margin against the sentence under the fifth query, beginning with, "The pleas on the part of the masters were," &c., the name of "Judge Lowell" is written; and near the close of this paragraph is written, "Judge Dana." (Ibid., pp. 202, 203.)

Whether Dr. Belknap had received letters from the *three* gentlemen last named, or had derived information from them simply by a personal interview, cannot now be ascertained. He does not cite "Judge Lowell's *letter*" nor

"Judge Dana's *letter*," as in the other instances where letters exist, but only gives the name. If letters had been received, they would naturally be preserved here.

But Dr. Belknap, in his reply to Judge Tucker, makes free use of other letters, here preserved, whose authors' names he does not place in the margin of his manuscript. As no one of these authorities is cited in the answer as printed in the Collections, Dr. Belknap may, as he proceeded in the work of drawing up this paper, have abandoned the idea originally formed of making such references. They are confined to the first part of his manuscript.

We now print for the first time the letters which are extant, received by Dr. Belknap, in reply to Judge Tucker's queries; feeling that they may throw some new light on opinions and feelings, not always harmonious, which were entertained in Massachusetts at that period, relating to a subject which gradually grew to be so absorbing throughout the nation. The reader will also be able to judge how faithfully Dr. Belknap has used the authorities before him in preparing his answer to Judge Tucker.

The original letter of Judge Tucker to Dr. Belknap, with the queries enclosed in it, is here reprinted from the autograph manuscript, as an introduction to the replies which follow.

We also print, in conclusion, several additional letters of Judge Tucker; a number of petitions of negroes, to the Massachusetts government, for the abolition of slavery in the Province; and the "brief" of Levi Lincoln, in the celebrated case of Jennison *v.* Caldwell. This last paper has been copied from the original manuscript in the Library of the American Antiquarian Society.

QUERIES

RELATING TO

SLAVERY IN MASSACHUSETTS.

JUDGE TUCKER TO DR. BELKNAP.

WILLIAMSBURG, VIRGINIA, Jan. 24, 1795.

SIR, — Having never visited the Eastern States, it has been my misfortune never to have had the pleasure of a personal acquaintance with any of those eminent literary characters which that part of the United States has produced, and, if I may credit Fame, abounds with, more than any other part of our common country; a circumstance probably not more mortifying to myself than of real disadvantage to this part of the United States, since a more frequent intercourse and intimate acquaintance between the several parts of the Union would probably contribute more to remove local prejudices and cement the bond of union than any other project, unsupported by such a foundation. To supply, as far as respects myself, this inconvenience in some measure, I have prevailed on my friend, the Rev. Mr. Hust, to favor me with a letter of introduction, which I take the liberty to enclose, and to request your pardon for thus intruding my correspondence upon you; a liberty which private considerations alone could scarcely justify on any account, and which, I fear, you will think fully commensurate to the occasion which prompts it.

The introduction of slavery into this country is at this day considered among its greatest misfortunes by a very great majority of those who are reproached for an evil which the present generation could no more have avoided than an hereditary gout or leprosy. The malady has proceeded so far as to render it doubtful whether any specific can be found to eradicate, or even to palliate, the disease. Having, in my official character as pro-

fessor of law in the college at this place, had occasion to notice the several acts of the legislature on the subject, I find that, even before the commencement of the present century, an attempt was made to check the importation of slaves, by imposing a duty on them. The act was indeed only temporary, but was renewed as often as the influence of the African Company in England would permit. At length the duty was made payable by the buyers; but the acts imposing it were still temporary, though constantly renewed whenever an extraordinary supply of money was required, and was gradually increased from five to twenty per cent, ad valorem. As soon as the Revolution took place, the legislature passed an act prohibiting the importation of slaves, under the severest penalties; and permitting what had hitherto been prohibited, the voluntary emancipation of them by their masters. The question of a general emancipation has not, that I know, been brought on the carpet in the legislature; but I am fully persuaded that circumstance is altogether owing to the difficulties which present themselves to every reflecting mind. To assist in removing them is the object of this letter; for having observed, with much pleasure, that slavery has been wholly exterminated from the Massachusetts, and being impressed with an idea that it once had existence there, I have cherished a hope that we may, from the example of our sister State, learn what methods are most likely to succeed in removing the same evil from among ourselves. With this view, I have taken the liberty to enclose a few queries, which, if your leisure will permit you to answer, you will confer on me a favor which I shall always consider as an obligation; and if, in the pursuits in which you are engaged, any subject should occur in which you may be disposed to obtain information from this quarter, I will not promise to afford it you, but I assure you that I will most faithfully endeavour to do it. I am, very respectfully, sir,

Your most obedient and very humble servant,

St. G. Tucker.

Please to direct to St. George Tucker, Williamsburg, Virginia.

Queries respecting the Introduction, Progress, and Abolition of Slavery in Massachusetts.

1st. The first introduction of negroes or other slaves in Massachusetts?

2d. Whether the African trade was carried on thither? at what period it commenced? to what extent it was carried on? when it began to decline? and when it was wholly discontinued?

3d. Whether it was carried on by European or American adventurers? by what means its declension first began? whether from legislative discouragement or other causes? and to what causes its abolition is to be ascribed?

4th. The state of slavery in the Massachusetts when slaves were most numerous? their number when most numerous? their proportion to the number of white persons at that period?

5th. The mode by which slavery hath been abolished there? whether by a general and simultaneous emancipation? or at different periods? or whether by declaring all persons born after a particular period free?

6th. At what period slavery was wholly abolished? what were their numbers and proportion to the whites at that period?

7th. What is the condition of emancipated negroes? is any, and what, provision made for their education and maintenance during infancy, or in a state of decrepitude, age, or insanity?

8th. What are their political rights or disabilities? if there be any discrimination between them and white persons?

9th. Is there any perceptible difference between the general moral or social conduct of emancipated persons, or their descendants, and others?

10th. Are intermarriages frequent between blacks and whites? if so, are such alliances more frequent between black men and white women, or the contrary?

11th. Does harmony in general prevail between the blacks and white citizens? do they associate freely together? or is there a pre-eminence claimed by the one, and either avowedly or tacitly admitted by the other?

WILLIAMSBURG, VIRGINIA, January 24, 1795.

DR. JOHN ELIOT TO DR. BELKNAP.

Sir, — I have looked over your queries with some attention, but am unable to say when the introduction of negroes to Massachusetts first took place.

2. The *African trade* was carried on; and commenced at an early period; to a small extent compared with *Rhode Island*, but it made a considerable branch of our commerce (to judge from the number of our still-houses, and masters of vessels now living who have been in the trade). It declined very little till the Revolution. Some excellent writings were diffused previously to this, and the sentiment of the people was against it; but the merchants who had been engaged in the business still continued sending their vessels for slaves, till the trade was prohibited by an act of the court, 1787.*

3. If, by European adventurers, be intended persons disconnected with American merchants, they were few in number. The cause of *abolition of slaves in the State* may be traced entirely to the *sentiment* of the people; but, of the *trade*, to the act of legislature.

4. Slaves were never in a state of hard bondage. It is difficult to tell the exact proportion of blacks to whites; because, if we judge by the funerals, they were more infirm and sick, and died in more than equal numbers, compared with the inhabitants. Some persons may have proper data to answer this query.

The 5th and 6th will be answered by the above, &c., and looking into the acts of the court.

7. Answer — wretched, with a few exceptions, but owing to themselves. Every encouragement is given to them to work. A subsistence is easily obtained, and they have the same privileges with whites, from infancy to manhood. This includes the 8th query.

9. There is a perceptible difference, owing, perhaps, to their habits of life. They have been slaves. Some who were born free, and well educated, are here to be excepted.

10. There cannot be intermarriages by our laws. It is very seldom such a thing has happened. Between blacks and molattoes, more frequent.

* It was in 1788. — Eds.

11. There is much harmony between blacks and whites. We seldom have contentions, except in houses of ill-fame, where some very *depraved white* females get among the blacks. This has issued in the pulling down such houses at times, and caused several actions at Justices' Courts these two years past. Otherwise, they do not associate. Even religious societies, those not of public fellowship, are separate in the town of Boston. And, what is still *more remarkable*, *white and black masons* do not sit together in their lodges. The African lodge in Boston, though possessing a charter from England, signed by the Earl of Effingham, and countersigned by the Duke of Cumberland, meet by themselves; and white masons, not more skilled in geometry than their black brethren, will not acknowledge them. The reason given is that the blacks were made clandestinely in the first place, which, being known, would have prevented them from receiving a charter. But this enquiry would not have been made about *white lodges*, many of which have not conformed to the rules of *Masonry*. The truth is, they are ashamed of being *on an equality with blacks*. Even the fraternal kiss of France, given to *merit*, without distinction of colour, doth not influence Massachusetts masons to give an embrace less emphatical, or tender and affectionate to their *black brethren*. These, on the other hand, valuing themselves upon their knowledge of the craft, think themselves better masons in other respects than the *whites*, because *Masonry* considers all men *equal who are free;* and Massachusetts laws admit of no kind of slavery. It is evident from this that *neither* "*avowedly nor tacitly*" do the blacks admit the preheminence of *the whites;* but as evident that the preheminence is claimed by *the whites*.

JOHN ELIOT.*

In addition to the answer of the 4th query, — Though the slaves were not in *hard bondage*, — yet one thing implies the contrary to our reason and feelings. Lovers and friends were separated, and their children given away, with the same indifference as little kittens and young puppies. Upon the whole, they were less favorites.

* The Rev. John Eliot, D.D., was one of the founders of the Historical Society, and pastor of the New North Church, in Boston. He was one of Dr. Belknap's most intimate friends. This letter was written on the blank pages of the copy of the printed circular sent to him, and is the only copy of that circular preserved among the Belknap papers. — EDS.

SAMUEL DEXTER TO DR. BELKNAP.

WESTON, Feb. 23, 1795.

SIR, — Your printed letter came to hand yesterday. Without regard to order or arrangement, I will write all that occurs to my mind on the subject of it, out of which you may, perhaps, cull something that you may be able to apply to a few of the queries of your benevolent correspondent, to whom you are desirous of affording assistance in his humane design respecting the emancipation of slaves in the State of Virginia.

I believe neither Neal nor Hutchinson have mentioned an African trade as carried on to any part of New England. I have turned to both indexes, and whirled over leaves, to no purpose. If any such trade really existed at an early period, I may have read something about it, but can now recollect nothing. It certainly never was, at any time, carried on to a great extent in Massachusetts. Adventurers from hence have been concerned in a trade from Africa to the West India Islands; but I know of none since Thomas Boylston (now in London) quitted it. McCarthy, and, I believe, Job Prince, were his captains; the former, divers voyages. Vessels from Rhode Island have brought slaves into Boston. Whether any have been imported into that town by its own merchants, I am unable to say. I have, more than fifty years ago, seen a vessel or two with slaves brought into Boston, but do not recollect where they were owned. At that time it was a very rare thing to hear the trade reprobated. Some disliked the custom of keeping negroes from prudential considerations; but the number was small indeed who had religious scruples. Such scruples were confined to the most liberal thinkers. People in general justified the trade on the persuasion that, without some degree of acquaintance with the doctrines of the Gospel, eternal misery in another state of existence was inevitable; and I doubt not it may be said with truth that the owners of slaves in Massachusetts were more careful to instruct them in what were then thought its doctrines, and more attentive to their morals, than their owners were in any other colony, unless, perhaps, Connecticut.

I know not how long Bishop Butler has been dead,* but (it may be 45 years since) William Vassal, Esq., who had a great number of slaves on his West Indian plantations, having scruples, wrote to the Bishop, as a casuist. He justified the practice of keeping them on Scripture ground; and Vassal, very willing to be convinced, acquiesced in the decision. It was said he once wrote to Thomas Chubb, the deist, on the same subject. What his verdict was, I never heard.

About the time of the Stamp Act, what before were only slight scruples in the minds of conscientious persons became serious doubts, and, with a considerable number, ripened into a firm persuasion that the slave-trade was *malum in se*. Pieces against it appeared in newspapers, and some pamphlets were written.

March 4, 1767, a bill, intitled "An Act to prevent the importation of slaves into this Province," was read a first time in the House of Representatives. On a second reading, the next day, it was committed for alteration. On the 13th it appeared again, and was read a first time under the title of "An Act for preventing the unnatural and unwarrantable custom of enslaving mankind in this Province, and the importation of slaves into the same." On a second reading (the 16th) † a vote for a third reading did not obtain; but a committee was appointed to bring in a bill for laying a duty on slaves imported. Such a bill was brought in the next day, intitled "An Act for laying an impost on the importation of negro and other slaves into this Province," and read a first and second time, and on the 18th read a third time, and passed to be engrossed. I was then a member of the House, and active for the bills under every form. The Council made many amendments, the House non-concurred, and thus died the bill. Had it passed both Houses, Gov. Bernard would not have signed it. The duty was laid high. This was only *an attempt* at "legislative discouragement" of slavery. There never was so much as *an attempt* made at any other time, before nor since, that I have heard of. This will,

* He died in 1752. — Eds.

† The second reading appears, by the Journal of the House, to have been on the 14th; but the appointment of a committee to bring in a bill for the impost was on the 16th, as stated. — Eds.

in a measure, apply to the 3d query under the 3d general division of queries.

The gentleman inquires (5th division) respecting the mode by which slavery was abolished. The query may be answered thus: It never was *formally* and *expressly* abolished. There never was either "a general and simultaneous emancipation," nor one "at different periods," nor were "persons born after a particular period declared free."

To the 1st query under the 6th division, viz., "At what period was slavery wholly abolished?" what follows is a complete answer: In the year 1780, by the first article in the Declaration of Rights, when the Constitution of Massachusetts was ratified. These are a part of the words of that article: "All men are born free and equal, and have certain natural, essential, and unalienable rights, among which may be reckoned the right of enjoying and defending their lives and liberties." There are similar articles in the declaration of rights of New Hampshire and Pennsylvania.

Soon after the establishment of the Constitution of Massachusetts, one negro after another deserted from the service of those who had been their owners, till a considerable number had revolted. Some of them were siezed and remanded to their former servitude. Certain individuals of these brought actions against those who had been their masters, and the success of the negroes in these suits operated to the liberation of all who did not voluntarily remain with their former owners. Many did so, on account of their age and infirmities, or because they did not know how to provide for themselves, or for some pecuniary consideration. Thus ended slavery in Massachusetts.

The answer to the 7th and 8th general division of queries is that those who were formerly slaves are now, in all respects, in the same state and condition with the whites.

I am unable to say any thing to the 9th general division.

To the 10th I say, "intermarriages between the blacks and whites" are very rare; "oftener between black men and white women than the contrary."

To the 11th I answer that, in country towns, "harmony in general prevails between blacks and white citizens"; yet, though they associate together, the latter consider themselves as "pre-eminent," which is "tacitly admitted" by the former.

I can say nothing with respect to the maritime towns, save that in Boston there is a lodge of free and accepted masons, the brethren of which are all negroes. Whether they modestly decline mixing with whites in the public processions of the fraternity, or whether they occasionally desire admittance as visiting brothers at other lodges, are questions I cannot decide. They cannot be denied without violating the spirit and design of the institution. I speak as a brother, but I have not been present at a lodge for more than twenty-five years. With much regard, sir,

Your most obedient servant,

SAMUEL DEXTER.*

SAMUEL DEXTER TO DR. BELKNAP.

WESTON, Feb. 26, 1795.

SIR, — I am almost ready to ascribe it to my being advanced in life that I should have no recollection, at the time of writing my letter of the 23d inst., of what engaged my attention so much in the years '73 and '74. After the bearer had been gone a few hours, I took up a pamphlet which I had not looked into for several years, and found I had noted upon the outside leaf that it was given to me by Mr. Newton Prince, lemon merchant, in the name and at the desire of a number of negroes, then petitioners to the General Court. At the head of these was Fœlix Holbrook. While the petition remained undecided upon, I was called out of the Council Chamber, and very politely presented with the pamphlet by Newton, who, after making his best bow, said that the negroes had been informed I was against the slave-trade, and was their friend. He had several more to give to particular members of the House of Representatives. Upon my returning into the chamber, I boasted, as I have since, that I was distinguished from all the other members of council by this mark of respect.

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* Samuel Dexter was a merchant in Boston, subsequently residing in Dedham. In the political struggles just before the Revolution, he was repeatedly elected to the Council, and was often negatived by the royal governor for his patriotic zeal. He bequeathed $5,000 to Harvard College to encourage Biblical criticism. His son, bearing the same name, was the distinguished Secretary of War of the United States. He died in 1810, aged eighty-four. — EDS.

Their petition was read June 25, 1773, and committed to a committee of 7, who reported the 28th that the further consideration of it should be deferred to the next session. January 26, 1774, it was read again, together with a memorial of the same petitioners, and committed to a committee of 7. They reported a bill, intitled "An Act to prevent the importation of negroes, and others, as slaves, into this Province."

It was read a first time March 2d, a second time March 3d, A.M., a third time the same day, P.M., and passed to be engrossed, and was sent up. March 4th it was sent down with proposed amendments, which were concurred in by the House, March 5th. On the 8th the engrossed bill was read, and passed to be enacted.

It was probably laid before Governor Hutchinson, for his consent; but, on the next day (March 9th), the court was unexpectedly prorogued, after the Secretary had read a morose message from the Governour, between whom and the two houses there had been no good agreement, either in that or the preceding session. I am, with great respect, sir,

Your most obedient servant,

SAMUEL DEXTER.

P. S. The Secretary, previous to the prorogation, said, "His Excellency has not had time to consider the other bills that have been laid before him" (after reading the titles of those the government had consented to).

To the REV. DR. BELKNAP.

NATHANIEL APPLETON TO DR. BELKNAP.

26th Feb., 1795.

REVEREND SIR, — I herewith return you Mr. Tucker's letter. I have perused it with pleasure. I heartily pitty the Southern States which still suffer the evil of slavery. It will not be possible for them to get rid of it so easily as the Massachusetts did. However, every good mind will exert itself to promote so desirable an end.

I have not yet seen the queries he enclosed you; but, when I

do, I shall endeavour to throw in my small mite to that treasure of happiness. With great respect, I am, sir,

Your friend and humble servant,

NATH. APPLETON.*

To the REV. DR. BELKNAP, Boston.

JUDGE JAMES WINTHROP TO DR. BELKNAP.

CAMBRIDGE, 4th March, 1795.

REVEREND SIR, — Yesterday I was favored with your queries, and take the first opportunity to give you all the intelligence I am possessed of on the subject of the slave-trade.

1. I do not know when that trade begun among the citizens of this State, but acts were passed for the regulation of negroes, and their manumission, as early as 1703,

2. When a duty of £4 was exacted for every negro imported; for the payment whereof both master and vessel were answerable.† The whole duty was refunded on re-exportation. I have no certain information, but believe it never was carried on to any considerable extent but by way of Rhode Island.

3. During the late war I have been told that an act was passed in that State for the emancipation of such negroes as should enlist into the army; but what consideration was paid to the master exceeds my information.

4. Slaves were probably most numerous just before the Revolution. After the commencement of hostilities, the depreciation of the paper currency, and a supposed inconsistency between fighting for liberty and restraining others in servitude, prevented them from increasing. Their proportion to the white people at different periods will most probably be ascertained by the returns of population in the Secretary's office.

5. By a misconstruction of our State Constitution, which

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* We have no means of knowing whether Mr. Appleton was subsequently furnished with a copy of these queries, and had an opportunity of answering them He had, as early as 1767, written a pamphlet on the subject of slavery, a copy of which is in the Library of the Historical Society. He was son of the Rev. Nathaniel Appleton, minister of Cambridge. — EDS.

† 1705. — EDS.

declares all men by nature free and equal, a number of citizens have been deprived of property formerly acquired under the protection of law.

6. The Constitution begun to operate in 1780.

7. There being now no slavery known here, the negroes generally get a living by entering into domestic service; and one or two in Boston have acquired decent property. At the time of the insurrections, in 1786, they offered their service to Governor Bowdoin to the number of 700; but the Council did not think fit to accept of their aid, as the white officers might be unwilling to serve with them.

8. They are as much under the protection of government, and have the same privileges of schooling, as other people; but they can neither elect or be elected to offices of government.

9. There are a few instances of their appearing as authors, and some of their productions are not contemptible. I have not heard of their dipping into the more abstruse parts of science, and in general they are not estimated for speculative abilities.

10. An act was passed 1705, at the October session of the General Court, to prevent mixing breeds. It established a penalty of £50 for every person officiating to marry a white person and negro, but did not annul the marriage. For fornication, both parties were to be whipped, and the negro sold out of the Province. If the man was white, a fine of £5 was required of him.

11. The same act required a negro to be whipped, if he presumed to strike a Christian. They were expressly allowed to marry among their own colour. By an act passed in 1703, slaves were required to be at home by 9 o'clock in the evening, under the penalty of being whipped at the discretion of a justice of the peace, not exceeding 10 stripes. As slavery is now at an end, this act, of course, ceases; but that relating to marriages remains.

Acts passed on 25 and 26 March, 1788, prohibit the slave-trade, and the construction of the act is such that it must extend the prohibition to every part of the world. The person receiving aboard his vessel a subject of any State in Africa with a view to transport him to any other part of the world (as a slave) is to pay £50 for every person so taken aboard, and the owner is answerable for £200 for every vessel fitted out and

employed in that service. Kidnapping for exportation negroes resident here is forbidden, and a remedy given to the family of the person injured. All negroes not citizens of any State in the Union, but resident here, are required to depart within two months, or apprehended, whipped, and ordered to depart; the process and punishment to be renewed every two months.

I do not recollect any thing further on this subject, but I cannot forbear adding that it would be more worthy of an enlightened legislature to regulate a trade which is woven into our nature, and has been carried on and considered as lawful from the earliest antiquity, than to try to abolish it. If abuses have crept in, they ought to be guarded against; but abuse alone will not justify abolishing a trade which manifestly tends to preserve life and to increase the quantity of productive labor in the whole world. Wars among savages may in some small degree be promoted by the trade, but the lives of the prisoners are saved. I am, sir,

Your most obedient servant,

JAMES WINTHROP *

THOMAS PEMBERTON TO DR. BELKNAP.

BOSTON, March 12, 1795.

REVEREND SIR, — I am in doubt whether this letter will contain any information you are not already possessed of. You will, however, receive it as the best reply I can make to the queries you sent me.

The first mention of slaves in New England I find in the year 1638, when Samuel Mavericke, who was in possession of Noddle's Island at the time the settlement of Massachusetts Bay Colony began, had, it is said, three or four negro slaves in his family. In seven years after, viz., in 1645, a law was enacted by the General Court, to prohibit the buying or selling of slaves, except those taken in lawful war, or reduced to servitude by

* James Winthrop, LL.D., was a graduate of Harvard College in 1769. He was a Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, and Register of Probate. He was one of the founders of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Alden Bradford says of him: "We have no hesitation in ranking him among the most learned, useful, and patriotic citizens of Massachusetts." — EDS.

other means.* From these circumstances, the probability is that slaves were brought into this colony soon after its settlement, and was then disapproved. Whether this law was ever repealed, how soon after it the slave-trade commenced here, and whether it was only connived at, are queries I cannot answer.

We know that a large trade to Guinea was carried on for many years by the citizens of Massachusetts Colony, who were the proprietors of the vessels and their cargoes, out and home. Some of the slaves purchased in Guinea, and I suppose the greatest part of them, were sold in the West Indies. Some were brought to Boston and Charlestown, and sold to town and country purchasers by the head, as we sell sheep and oxen; not, indeed, for the same purposes of slaying and eating them, but for menial services and hard labour during their lives. This business of importing and selling negroes continued till nearly the time of the controversy with Great Britain. The precise date when it wholly ceased I cannot ascertain; but it declined and drew towards a period about the time the British Parliament attempted to enslave the colonists by arbitrary acts. It was these that stirred up the people more thoroughly to investigate the rights of man, and they now became better understood. The equal right of all and every man to freedom was asserted. It arrested the attention of the people of colour among us. The more knowing ones propagated the doctrine among the black slaves.

The first instance I have heard of a negro requesting his freedom *as his right* belonged (I am informed) to Dr. Stockbridge, in Plymouth county. His master refused to grant it, but, by the assistance of lawyers, he obtained it. This happened about 1770. I don't know of any more being liberated (but perhaps there might have been a few) till the year 1774, when the first Congress met at Philadelphia. In their first session, the delegates from twelve of the United Colonies (Georgia had not then joined them) agreed for themselves and their constituents wholly to discontinue the slave-trade, neither to import nor purchase any slave imported after the 1st day of December in that year. There was a manifest inconsistency in holding any of their species in bondage whilst they were contending for their

* In the Massachusetts Body of Liberties, adopted in 1641. The writer does not fully describe the ninety-first article in that code. — Eds.

own liberty. This sentiment seems to have operated on the minds of the citizens of this State, and in some of the country towns they voted to have no slaves among them, and to indemnifie their masters (after they had given them freedom) from any expence that might arise by means of their age, infirmities, or inability to support themselves.

The Declaration of Independence, in 1776, announces "that all men are created equal, endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, among these are life, liberty, &c." This involves in it the idea, as expressed by an author, "that there are no natural distinctions among mankind, whereby one part of the species are entitled to privileges from which the other is excluded; for all alterations and distinctions among mankind wholly arise from civil government, which has no other foundation than natural right; and natural right must, for this reason, be a principle of higher authority than civil government. Whenever, therefore, civil government tends to destroy and confound the rights of nature, it ceases to have any claim to obedience: it becomes corruption and despotism."

Impressed with thoughts similar to these, the citizens in general relinquished the idea of *a right in them* to detain any of their species in slavery, and a general emancipation of slaves began now to take place. Some slaves took the liberty to free themselves, and left their masters (these were not considered as runaways, and apprehended as formerly); others requested freedom of their masters, and obtained it by their voluntary consent. Some few others, I believe, procured their liberty by legal process. In this manner, I take it, the abolition of slavery in the Massachusetts was effected.

The coloured people here demean themselves as orderly as might be expected, and are civilly treated by the whites, who employ them and pay them wages for their services; but there is a discrimination between the whites and blacks. The former are tenacious of their superiority, and it is rare for them to associate and mix together in company: whenever this happens, the whites are of the lower class of citizens. It is more rare for intermarriages to take place between them: very few instances of such connections can be found. The qualifications required by the Constitution of Massachusetts prevent the coloured people from being electors, or elected into a public office.

Here I finish all I had to say respecting slavery in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and shall detain you but a little longer.

In the reign of Queen Elizabeth, A.D. 1562, Sir John Hawkins, a noted sea commander (as the biographer of his life relates), "engaged some gentlemen in England to be concerned with him in a voyage to Guinea, where, having arrived, he acquired 300 negro slaves by money, and, where that failed, by the sword: with these he sailed to Hispaniola, and, making a large profit, returned safe to England the next year." I write this for the sake of asking the questions, "Is not this the origin of the English slave-trade? or were any negroes brought from Guinea prior to the year 1562, by the English? I have seen a publication in 1769, which contains a particular account of the number of negroe slaves purchased in one year, viz., 1768, on the coast of Africa, from Cape Blanco to Rio Congo, by the different European nations, and they amount to 104,100 for that year. Of this number Great Britain and her dominions imported 59,400. These were bartered for European and Indian manufactures. The author of the above account says, "since that time, 1768, the Revolution of America seems to have inspired the different nations with more liberal sentiments. The natural rights of every individual of the human species is more clearly understood and attended to, and the slavery of the Africans strongly reprobated, that trade checked and on the decline" (in the European nations). England has set a good example by passing an act, in 1792, to abolish the slave-trade within a short period from that date.* For this Mr. Wilberforce, a worthy member of Parliament, is entitled to particular merit. We wish it may be followed by the other nations of Europe.

I have done, and believe you are glad of it. I fear your patience is exhausted, and must ask an excuse for leading you such a jaunt. I am, reverend sir,

Very respectfully yours,

THOS. PEMBERTON.†

REV. DR. BELKNAP.

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* A bill for this purpose passed the House of Commons, in 1792, but was rejected by the Lords. The Abolition Act finally passed in 1807. — EDS.

† Thomas Pemberton was born in 1728. He was an antiquary *par excellence*, and had an extensive knowledge of historical facts. His manuscript "Memoranda,

SAMUEL DEXTER TO DR. BELKNAP.

Weston, March 19, 1795.

Rev. Sir, — Your letter of the 11th inst. is just come to hand. You cannot be tedious to me, while you are influenced by a desire to serve the interest of humanity. If the Africans who petitioned the General Court in 1773 and 1774 applied to Gov. Hutchinson, I consider it as a proof of what I before supposed, that the bill which passed the two Houses was presented to him for his consent before he abruptly prorogued the Court. The negroes, I conclude, were informed of its being before him, and waited upon him to ask his favour. A number of the Court, myself among the rest, well knew he would not sign the act. I cannot be positive that I heard him say he had *an instruction* which forbad him, but that he said he could not sign an act against the slave-trade, as Bernard had said, in 1767, a number were not ignorant of, who, notwithstanding, were not the less forward to do *themselves* what they apprehended to be duty.

If the negroes petitioned Gage, I know not who could have advised them to the measure. He, as governour, had no power to serve their cause, but as a branch of the legislative; and the only General Court, while he was in the chair, was in 1774, which he adjourned to Salem, and there dissolved. During that short session, no such bill could have passed the two Houses. I, indeed, went home myself, having had the honour of being negatived by him, in company with Mr. Bowdoin and Dr. Winthrop; but the adjournment took place in a few days, and when the Court was at Salem no law was passed. The dissolution prevented it.*

Historical and Biographical," make about fifteen volumes. These he bequeathed to the Historical Society, of which he was one of the most active members. — Eds.

* A bill, however, did pass at this short session; but, of course, was not signed by Gage. It was not for the abolition of slavery in the State, but to prevent the importation of negroes as slaves, — similar to that which was passed the previous session, and which Hutchinson refused to sign. — Journal, 27, 41; Council Rec. MS., XXX. 294.

A number of rough drafts, or copies, of petitions of negroes, unsigned, written by very illiterate persons, as to handwriting and spelling, exist among the papers of Dr. Belknap. In most respects they seem to be based on the same model.

I am unable to say what was done by the Court in 1777, though I seem to have a recollection of having heard of something like what you mentioned as told you by Prince Hall. This is *all* I can say. I had been meditating a retreat from public business previous to my last negative in '74; and, though I was afterwards prevailed upon by the town of Dedham to represent them in what was called the Massachusetts Congress, from its origin till its dissolution, yet, when government (upon recommendation of the General Congress) was assumed in form, the offices of Governour and Lieutenant-Governour being considered vacant, I belonged to neither branch. Being in want of health, I refused a seat in the House of Representatives, when chosen by my town, and also, previous to the coming on of the election of councillors, wrote to desire I might not be considered as a candidate, giving my ill state of health as the reason of my declining a seat in council. Since that time, I have never been a public man, save four days in the House of Representatives, in 1785. As soon as the election of Mr. Bowdoin for Governour was accomplished, to assist in which was my *only* inducement to go to court that year, I asked leave of absence for so long a time as it might suit my convenience to remain at home; which, having obtained, I left the representation of Dedham to my colleague, and never took a seat again

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There is one among them drawn by a more skilful hand as to composition and penmanship, and includes an additional object in the prayer of the petitioners.

A fragment of a petition, dated June, 1773, is addressed to Governor Hutchinson and the Council and House. Another, dated May, 177— (the last numeral appears to have been altered once or twice, but from the heading of the paper its date must be 1774), is addressed to General Gage and the Council and House. Another is dated June, 1774, and is also addressed to Gage. A fourth is dated Jan. 13, 1777, and is addressed simply to the Council and House, there being then no Governor.

There is no reference in the petitions to the slave-trade. But the prayer is that an Act may be passed by the Legislature to liberate the enslaved, except the infirm and dependent; and, in two of them, that their children may share the same blessing when they shall arrive at the age of twenty-one years. In one of the petitions, it is asked in addition that some of the unimproved land of the Province may be set apart for the freedmen.

These petitions are all written on the same kind of paper, as to size, water mark, &c., as though they proceeded from one source. They are worn, torn, and crumpled. It is not improbable that Dr. Belknap procured them from some one person, perhaps the colored man, Prince Hall. Some one has written in pencil on the back of three of them, "Copy of petition." They are all printed further on, in this volume. — Eds.

during the year. I think I must have been *tedious* to you by my prolixity; but I wished to give a reason why I *could not* answer your last question.

In great haste, yours with perfect regard,

SAMUEL DEXTER.

March 20th.

P. S. I have been disappointed of sending this letter, and open it to make an addition. A bill making provision, as Prince Hall related to you, might have been under consideration of the Court in 1777; but, had it been passed into a law, I think it probable some would have become free before the year 1780.* Yet I never heard of any negro, either male or female, before a slave, who asserted his or her right to freedom till the last mentioned year. If there are any journals of the House of Representatives for 1777, or of the Council, in being, they are probably in the Secretary's office. A recurrence to them will settle the question. The present Governour (then at Congress) was Secretary in 1776; and Perez Morton, Deputy Secretary. Perhaps, too, in the next year after. But the office of the present Secretary is the place where the journals are, or ought to be, deposited.

March 23d.

Addenda. If any such law as you mention passed in 1777, it ought to have been in the Statute Book of Perpetual Laws; if for no other reason, it should have been preserved in *perpetuam rei memoriam* for the honour of the court that passed it. But no such law is there; nor any other, that I know of, which passed while a majority of the Council administered in place of Governour. Those laws are now in sheets, and your friend Judge Sullivan will readily inform you whether such an one is among them.

But, had such a law been in being, the declaration in the Bill of Rights would not, *in every case*, have been *solely* relied

* Prince Hall and a few other negroes presented a petition, 18th March, 1777, for the abolition of slavery in the State. It was dated 13th January. A bill for that purpose was brought into the House on the 9th June, and debated, but it never became a law. Dr. Belknap seems by this letter to have been told that this bill did become a law. See Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society for September, 1868, pp. 332–334. — EDS.

on. I know of one instance of a young negro, who I think was under 21 in 1777, and of age in '80. His master was solicitous to retain him, but gave up the point after the suits I mentioned in my first letter were finished. I never heard him hint that he lost his slave but from the operation of the article in the Bill of Rights above referred to.

DR. HOLYOKE TO DR. BELKNAP.

Salem, March 19, 1795.

Rev. Sir, — My numerous avocations must be my excuse for suffering yours of the 17th ult. to remain unanswered. The subject of your queries is a matter I have never much attended to, am therefore but indifferently qualified to return any satisfactory answer.

I have endeavoured, however, to recollect every thing material that my memory can furnish. But several of the queries I can scarcely answer at all, and several others but with hesitation. If, however, any thing I have offered shall give you or your friend the querist any satisfaction, or assist in emancipating so large a number of our species as the negroes in Virginia from the state of degradation to which they are reduced, I shall be very happy. But I confess the difficulties in the way appear to me, if not absolutely insuperable, yet certainly do very nearly approximate to it. I am, with much respect,

Rev. sir, your very humble servant,

E. A. Holyoke.*

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* Dr. E. A. Holyoke, a physician of Salem, was born in 1728. He died March 31, 1828, aged one hundred years and between seven and eight months. He was an acute and learned physician, was one of the founders of the Massachusetts Medical Society, and its first President. — Eds.

DR. HOLYOKE'S OBSERVATIONS.

Answer to Queries respecting the Introduction, Progress, and Abolition of Slavery in Massachusetts.

1st. Though I believe the period uncertain, yet slaves must have been introduced very early. And as the inhabitants of Massachusetts were much connected with *Barbadoes*, which was settled but three or four years before us, and several families went from hence to establish themselves there, it is probable *negroes* might be first introduced from that quarter. I believe instances of *Indian* slaves were, at every period, very rare in this State, and those few we had were brought from the West Indies. I never knew of more than five or six Indian slaves.

2d. Yes. But never, I believe, to any great extent. When it commenced I know not, nor when it began to decline. But few cargoes, I believe, have been brought in here within this 35 or 40 years. The elder merchants in Boston can best answer this question.

3d. The slaves which were brought here directly from Afric came, for the most part, I believe, in American vessels. But the trade was not generally agreeable to the people, and several openly expressed their disapprobation of it. Judge Sewall, about the latter end of the last century, published a small tract against it, intitled "*Joseph sold: A Memorial.*" I do not recollect any regulations made by the legislature to discourage the business before slavery was suppressed among us (about the beginning of the American war), as it were, by common consent.

It was no uncommon thing for our West India merchants to import a few, from time to time, from the West India Islands. Perhaps nearly half which were imported came in this channel.

4th. The state of slavery among *us* was always, I believe, as easy and as tolerable as can well be imagined, and in very many instances scarcely deserved the name, especially in the country towns, where the negroes were nearly upon an equal footing with the rest of the families in which they lived. As to their

numbers and proportions to the whites, 'tis probable a pretty exact account may be obtained by consulting the old *valuations* in the Secretary's office, in which, if I do not mistake, *servants for life* (or negroes) always made a distinct article, as they were always an article of taxation.

5th. I do not know of any legislative acts abolishing slavery before the people at large had given up the idea. But I am not able to give this query a full answer.

6th. About the beginning of the American war, or soon after, the people in general abandoned the idea of holding their fellow creatures in slavery, feeling, perhaps, the inconsistency of doing this at a time when they were strenuously asserting the cause of liberty for themselves. Numbers, however, were loth to lose their property, and in several instances it was not till a legal process was commenced by the negroes against their masters (which always issued in favor of the former *) that they were allowed their freedom. As to the proportion they bore to the whites, at that or any other period, consult the old *valuations*.

7th. Their condition is, in general, pretty miserable. They have generally, as I am informed, left the country towns and resorted to the seaports, where, though they might all of them be constantly employed, and most of them are, yet many are not industrious, and frugality many of them seem to be utterly unacquainted with; and, having been educated in families where they had contracted habits of a more luxurious mode of living than they can support in their present situation, they are much more uncomfortable (as they confess) than in their former state of slavery. As to the public provision for them, 't is, I believe, the same as for other poor persons.

8th. As to their political rights, I suppose they stand upon the same ground with their fairer-complexioned neighbours; and, if otherwise qualified, may be chosen into the highest offices of the State. A strange oversight, surely, in the legislature! I never have heard, however, of any one chosen into any office at all.

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* The courts before which these actions were brought, I understand, determined that there was no law or statute which permitted any person to hold any one in slavery; and, as it was contrary to common law, they always decided in favor of the plaintiff. — *Dr. Holyoke's Note.*

9th. Their conduct, both moral and social, is pretty much the same with that of the lowest order of poor in the community.

10th. No intermarriages; if any, extremely rare. I have not heard of any.

11th. The lowest of the people sometimes associate with them, but I believe they generally consider it as an act of condescension.

JOHN ADAMS TO DR. BELKNAP.

QUINCY, March 21, 1795.

DEAR SIR, — I received, last night, your favour of the 20th, and a day or two before had received that of the 2d, returned to me from Philadelphia. Thanks for Mr. Winthrop's prophecies.

I wrote to Charles Thompson, on the subject of Cook's voyage, long enough before I left Philadelphia to have had an answer, but none has yet arrived. Mr. Thompson is as deeply engaged in preparing an English translation of the Septuagint as Mr. Winthrop is in unriddling prophecies, and possibly cannot find time to write upon such trifles as Dr. Kippis's sacrifice of the honour of our country to his stupid adulation of Franklin. If I were to study prophecies, I doubt not I should find the worship of Latria, paid by the Presbyterian parsons in England to Franklin, among some of the traits or features of the Whore of Babylon. In their imaginations, he always appeared to me to have exalted himself above all that was worshipped; and this circumstance, among others, contributed somewhat to diminish my reverence for Presbyterian parsons.

I have read the queries concerning the rise and progress of slavery; but, as it is a subject to which I have never given any very particular attention, I may not be able to give you so much information as many others. I was concerned in several causes in which negroes sued for their freedom, before the Revolution. The arguments in favour of their liberty were much the same as have been urged since in pamphlets and newspapers, in debates in Parliament, &c., arising from the rights of mankind, which was the fashionable word at that time. Since that time, they have dropped the "kind."

Argument might have some weight in the abolition of slavery in the Massachusetts, but the real cause was the multiplication of labouring white people, who would no longer suffer the rich to employ these sable rivals so much to their injury. This principle has kept negro slavery out of France, England, and other parts of Europe. The common people would not suffer the labour, by which alone they could obtain a subsistence, to be done by slaves. If the gentlemen had been permitted by law to hold slaves, the common white people would have put the negroes to death, and their masters too, perhaps.

I never knew a jury, by a verdict, to determine a negro to be a slave. They always found them free. As I was not in the General Court in 1773, I have no particular remembrance of the petition for the liberation of all the blacks, and know not how it was supported or treated.

The common white people, or rather the labouring people, were the cause of rendering negroes unprofitable servants. Their scoffs and insults, their continual insinuations, filled the negroes with discontent, made them lazy, idle, proud, vicious, and at length wholly useless to their masters, to such a degree that the abolition of slavery became a measure of œconomy. I am, at present in haste,

Your friend and servant, JOHN ADAMS.

DR. BELKNAP.

JAMES SULLIVAN TO DR. BELKNAP.

BOSTON, April 9, 1795.

SIR, — I have had the pleasure of reading your dissertation on the origin and abolition of slavery in this State, and conceive that you have traced the history of those transactions with great accuracy. I have an idea, however, that in the 16th page your expression as to the education of negros is too strong.*

The first causes brought by negros against their masters were

* Dr. Belknap, it appears, had drawn up his reply to Judge Tucker, and submitted it to Judge Sullivan in manuscript, before the date of this letter. He subsequently made some modification of the language at this place, and added other passages from Sullivan's letter. — EDS.

conducted by Judge Lowell, who can give you an account of that business.

There is an act in Thomas's Law-book, page 355, against the slave-trade, passed in 1788; another, in the same year, and in the same book, p. 349, respecting foreign negroes. Perhaps you have seen these.

In the year 1781, an indictment was found in the county of Worcester against Nathaniel Jennison, of Barre, yeoman, for assaulting, beating, and imprisoning Quock Walker. He was tried at the Supreme Judicial Court, in April, 1783. The defence was that the said Quock was a slave brought from Africa, and sold to some person who, many years before, had sold him to the defendant, and that the assaulting, beating, and imprisonment was done by the defendant as the restraint and necessary correction of the master on the servant. This was answered by the Declaration of rights, declaring all men free, equal, &c. The judges and jury were of opinion that Jennison has not right to beat or imprison the negro. He was found guilty, and fined 40*s*. This decision put an end to the idea of slavery in this State.*

Where negroes have taken their freedom against the consent of their masters, and have since become paupers, there is yet a question respecting their support. Some say that their former masters ought to be at the expence. Others say that, as the public opinion emancipated them, they ought to come within the description of state paupers. Others say that they are properly town charges. But to this it is said that they are within no description of town inhabitants, that towns could never warn them to depart, and that they could never gain a legal settlement. This dispute is not known in Boston, but it exists in many places in the country. Suits are pending on the question, but the judges do not seem to have formed any system of opinions on the subject; and, though a bill has been long before the legislature, nothing is yet agreed upon respecting it.

I am respectfully yours, &c.,

JA. SULLIVAN.†

REV. DR. BELKNAP.

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* See Levi Lincoln's "brief" at the trial in 1781, further on. — EDS.

† James Sullivan was a member of the Convention which framed the Constitution of Massachusetts. Soon after, he was one of the Justices of the Supreme

JUDGE TUCKER TO DR. BELKNAP.

Williamsburg, April 11, 1795.

Sir, — Be pleased to accept my best acknowledgments for your several favours of Feb. 15th and March 18th, and more especially for the very obliging attention you have paid to my request in transmitting copies of my queries to your friends, and the trouble you have taken in answering the first of them. I anticipate (from the manner in which you have answered the first) the answer to the second, that the African trade hath never obtained a place in your State. Happy would it have been for us, had that horrid traffic never found its way hither. Our historian, Mr. Stith, mentions the arrival of a Dutch ship here, with 20 slaves, in the year 1620.* This is the only notice of the subject in his book. Beverley's and Sir William Keith's histories are so scarce that I never saw but one copy of the former, and that many years ago, and not one of the latter. Our laws contain the only registers on the subject that are now to be met with. From these, however, it appears, as I mentioned in my former letter, that the Legislature of Virginia began to discountenance the importation of slaves so long ago as the year 1699. But the African Company had too much interest with the government in England for the wishes of the Colonial Legislature to prevail.

The communication between Boston and Norfolk being perhaps more frequent than with either Richmond or Petersburg, your favours, addressed to the care of Mr. Moses Myers, merchant there, will meet a very ready conveyance to this place.

Permit me, sir, as a trifling acknowledgment of your favours,

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Judicial Court, and took part in the decision of the civil action of Jennison *v.* Caldwell in 1781. He was afterwards Attorney-General and Governor of the Commonwealth. He was the first President of the Massachusetts Historical Society. — Eds.

* Stith no doubt copied from Beverly, who names that year. But the true date is to be found in a letter of John Rolfe, written from Virginia, relating events which occurred in 1619. "About the last of August," he says, "came in a dutch man of warre that sold vs twenty Negars." Smith's "Generall Historie," fol. p. 126. — Eds.

to request your acceptance of three small pamphlets, which have probably never before crossed the Hudson River. They are sent by the mail. I am, with much respect, sir,

Your obliged humble servant,

S. G. Tucker.

JUDGE TUCKER TO DR. BELKNAP.

Williamsburg, June 29, 1795.

Sir, — It is some weeks since I had the pleasure of receiving your last favor accompanying answers to the remaining queries which I took the liberty of transmitting you. Being at that time very much engaged, and obliged to leave home for several weeks, I deferred answering your letter till my return; and since that period I have been too much indisposed to write. Permit me now, sir, to render you my best acknowledgments, not only for the great trouble you have taken, and the obliging readiness you have manifested to comply with my request, but for the very full and satisfactory manner in which you have communicated the result of your researches. Happy has it been for your country that the progress of slavery, from a combination of natural causes, with political considerations, and even human weakness and prejudice, has been so inconsiderable therein as to render the extirpation of it neither difficult nor dangerous. With us, on the contrary, climate, a baneful policy, and a different operation of the same prejudice which prevented its growth in the Massachusetts, have combined to cherish an evil which is now so thoroughly incorporated in our constitution as to render ineffectual, I fear, every attempt to eradicate it, and to make it doubtful whether even palliatives may not operate to encrease our distemper. From your researches, it appears that the greatest proportion of slaves to free whites in Massachusetts was as 1 to 40 ; whereas, in Virginia, it appears by the late census of the United States there are 305,943 blacks, including 12,866 *free* blacks, and 442,117 whites, which is nearly as 2 to 3. But this is not all. If the State of Virginia be divided into 4 districts, the first comprehending all the counties from the ocean to the falls of the rivers, and some few of the

adjacent counties will be found to contain 196,542 slaves and 198,371 free persons, including a proportion of the 12,866 free blacks, probably not less than 8,000; so that, in a tract of country comprehending more than one-half the population of Virginia, there are more *blacks*, and even more *slaves*, than free white persons. In the second class, extending to the Blue Ridge of mountains, and including the counties of Frederick and Berkeley beyond it, there are 82,286 slaves, and 136,251 free persons, which is nearly 2 to 3. In the third district, extending to the Allegany Mountains, there are 11,218 slaves, and 76,281 free persons, nearly as 1 to 7 only. In the fourth district, reaching from the eastern side of the Alleganey to the Kentucky line, there are only 2,381 slaves, and 41,318 free persons, nearly as 1 to 20 only. From this view of the subject, it will appear that the most populous and cultivated parts of Virginia would not only bear an infinite disproportion in the diminution of property by a general emancipation, but that the dangers and inconveniences of any experiment to release the blacks from a state of bondage must fall exclusively almost upon these parts of the State. The calamities which have lately spread like a contagion through the West India Islands afford a solemn warning to us of the dangerous predicament in which we stand, whether we persist in the now perhaps unavoidable course entailed upon us by our ancestors, or, copying after the liberal sentiments of the national convention of France, endeavour to do justice to the rights of human nature, and to banish deep-rooted, nay, almost innate, prejudices. The latter is a task, perhaps, beyond the power of human nature to accomplish. If, in Massachusetts, where the numbers are comparatively very small, this prejudice be discernable, how much stronger may it be imagined in this country, where every white man felt himself born to tyrannize, where the blacks were regarded as of no more importance than the brute cattle, where the laws rendered even venial offences criminal in them, where every species of degradation towards them was exercised on all occasions, and where even their lives were exposed to the ferocity of their masters; for it is only within these few years that an act, passed above a century ago,* exempting the masters of slaves, or others punishing a slave by

* Anno 1669.

order of their masters, from any penalty or prosecution in consequence of any slave dying in consequence of excessive chastisement, for which this reason was assigned by the legislators of those days: "Since it cannot be presumed that prepensive malice, which alone makes *murder* felony, should induce any man to destroy his own estate." This abominable law continued to stain our code, and to corrupt the morals of the people of Virginia, until the year 1788. In that year, I, for the first time since my acquaintance with courts, saw a white man tried and *convicted* for the murder of a slave by excessive whipping, and he was hanged accordingly. Unfortunately, in the new edition of our laws, the legislature thought it sufficient to expunge the former act, without inserting the latter. I fear it may have an ill consequence; for there is nothing like holding up a warning in view of bad men. Whatever disposition the first settlers in Virginia or their immediate descendants might have had to encourage slavery, the present generation are, I am persuaded, more liberal; and a large majority of slave-holders among us would cheerfully concur in any feasible plan for the abolition of it. The objections to the measure are drawn from the deep-rooted prejudices in the minds of the whites against the blacks, the general opinion of their mental inferiority, and an aversion to their corporeal distinctions from us, both which considerations militate against a general incorporation of them with us; the danger of granting them a practical admission to the rights of citizens; the possibility of their becoming idle, dissipated, and finally a numerous banditti, instead of turning their attention to industry and labour; the injury to agriculture in a large part of the State, where they are almost the only labourers, should they withdraw themselves from the culture of the earth; and the impracticability, and perhaps the dangerous policy, of an attempt to colonize them within the limits of the United States, or elsewhere. Mr. Jefferson seems to hint at this expedient; but surely he could not have weighed the difficulties and expence of an attempt to colonize 300,000 persons. If the attempt were made within the United States, it would probably include a provision for the slaves in the other States, amounting, on the whole, to 800,000. Could the funds of the United States support such a colony? If an army of 3 or 4 thousand men in the Western country is supported at such expence as that a bushel

of corn has sometimes cost $10 before it reached the camp, what would be the expence of colonizing such an host? If even 20,000 colonists were yearly sent out, how enormous would be the expence, and how great the undertaking. Yet, with 20,000 colonists only sent out yearly, the numbers of those which remain would continually encrease, if the same causes which have hitherto contributed to their multiplication should be continued. Besides, what hardships, what destruction, would not the wretched colonists be exposed to? If humanity plead for their emancipation, it pleads more strongly against colonization; for, having stated the impracticability of it within the United States, I pass over the scheme of sending them back to their native country, to effectuate which, without the most cruel oppression, would requïre the utmost exertion of all the maritime powers in Europe, united with those of America, and a territory of ten times the extent that all the powers of Europe possess in Africa. One of three courses, then, must inevitably be pursued: either to *incorporate them with us*, to *grant them freedom without any participation of civil rights*, or to *retain them in slavery*. If it be true that either nature or long habit have depraved their faculties so as to render them, in their present state, an inferior order of beings, may not an attempt to elevate them depress those who mingle and incorporate with them? May not such an attempt be frustrated by prejudices too deeply rooted to be eradicated? The numbers being so nearly equal in Virginia, may not such prejudices generate a civil war, and end in the extermination of one party or the other? especially as Nature herself has fixed the characters by which those parties would be discriminated, so long as either existed. To the second measure, it has been objected that, by granting freedom only, without civil rights, you will stimulate them to procure by force what you have refused to grant them, which must lay the foundation of all the evils to be apprehended from a full incorporation of them amongst us. And to both measures it is further objected, that agriculture will languish as soon as they who are now compelled to till the ground are left at liberty to work or be idle, as most agreeable to them; that experience among us has shewn that emancipated blacks rarely are industrious; that, if so great a proportion of the inhabitants of the country should become idle, they will soon owe their subsistence to

plunder alone; that those who wish for their emancipation equally wish for their total removal from the limits of the State; that, having been long accustomed to strict restraint in small bodies, they will not easily be restrained by general laws, which they have never been in the habit of regarding as having any relation to them. Those who argue thus contend that their present condition (the rigors of slavery having been much softened among us within these few years) is infinitely preferable to that degraded freedom they would enjoy, if emancipated. They insist that they are better clothed, lodged, and fed, than if it depended upon themselves to provide their own food, raiment, and houses; that the restraint upon them prevents their falling into vicious habits, which emancipated blacks appear too prone to contract. It may be observed, indeed, that, although the number of slaves is to the free blacks as 24 to 1, yet there are many more of the latter brought to answer for their crimes in courts of judicature than of the former. One reason for this undoubtedly is that slaves are punished by their masters for petty larcenies, for which a free man can only be punished by due course of law. But, even of capital crimes, more are committed by free blacks than by slaves. And, if I may judge by my own experience in courts which I have attended, the proportion of free black criminals to whites is nearly as one to three, though the proportion of free blacks to whites is not more than one for thirty-six. It is, however, but just to observe that I do not recollect more than one instance of murder committed by a free black, and in that instance he was an accomplice with a white man, who was the principal in the murder. Among slaves, murder is not very uncommon; and not unfrequently their victims have been their overseers, and sometimes, though very rarely, their own masters or mistresses, by means of poison. In most of these cases, the most humane persons have been the sufferers. They occur, however, so very seldom, that I am inclined to believe as many cases happen in England of masters or mistresses murdered by their servants, as in Virginia.

I have taken the liberty of troubling you with these remarks, wishing, if your leisure will permit, to learn your sentiments on a subject of such importance to humanity, which is, unhappily, involved in a labyrinth of political difficulties. I feel myself sometimes prompted to exclaim, "Fiat justitia ruat cœlum"! but the

scene now passing in the West Indies prompts me to suspend my opinion, and to doubt whether it will not be wiser to set about *amending the condition of the slave* than to make him a miserable free man. Your communications on this subject, whenever your leisure will permit, without interrupting your other pursuits, will be most gratefully received.

I have endeavoured to procure for you a copy of Stith's History of Virginia, but without that degree of success which I wish, having only been able to get one which is mutilated of the preface, and in several leaves of the beginning of the work. I never saw but two complete copies of it. One, now in my possession, I borrowed of an old neighbour, who refused to sell it to me. The other was in possession of Mr. Stith's daughter, a woman turned of fifty, who resides in this town. She would not part with it. From her I was informed "that her father died in the year 1755. She was then 13 years old. She recollects no particulars respecting him, except that he was turned of fifty, she thinks about 55. She remembers that his papers, and with them a large book of letters, were delivered to Col. Richard Bland, of Prince George County, who, as she understood, was to finish the History of Virginia, which her father had begun." The Rev. Mr. Spooner, formerly of New England, now Rector of Martins Brandon parish in Prince George County, some years ago published proposals for printing the works of Col. Bland, from original papers in his possession. I think it probable that Mr. Stith's papers, and the book mentioned by his daughter, might have been among them, and have obtained a promise from Bishop Madison to write to Mr. Spooner on the subject. From the preface to Stith's appendix, it would appear that he had very little encouragement to go on with his work; a circumstance to be regretted, as the materials at that day within his reach are now irretrievably lost, all the public Archives of Virginia, which had escaped two fires, having been destroyed at Richmond, by General Arnold. Mr. Jefferson calls him "a man of classical learning, and *very exact*, but of no taste in style." His prefaces bespeak him a man of labour, well qualified for making a compilation of those materials, which he had not the talent of arranging and unfolding with that elegance which constitutes one of the excellencies of an historian. I am encouraged to hope that the mutilated copy of his work

which I send you may, may with the assistance of that which you mention having seen, afford you a full view of his work, having observed a reference to page 7th of Stith, in the 1st volume of your American Biography, and the copy sent being perfect after the 8th page. If, however, I should be mistaken, if you will apprize me of it, I will have the preface and the first eight pages transcribed, and send them to you.*

It is but a few days since I have had the pleasure of seeing the work which I have just mentioned. I read it with pleasure, and hope that its success has been such as to give us hopes of seeing the continuation. The account given of Biron, I find, perfectly corresponds with that of Monsr. Mallet, in his Northern Antiquities, a work which, if you have not seen, you will probably find deserving a place in your library. I am led to take the liberty of making this remark, as I observed you had not referred to it. I some time since met with a book entitled "Letters on Iceland," the author a German, or Dane, or Swede, whose name I do not recollect. If I mistake not, he mentions some traces of Biron's voyage to Finland, though possibly my having read Mallet since may occasion me to mistake. This author accompanied Sir Joseph Banks to Iceland, a few years ago. The cursory reading that I was obliged to give it occasions me to doubt whether I am correct in saying that he mentioned Biron's Voyage to Finland.

I had also the pleasure of seeing one number of the publications of the Historical Society in Boston. I wish that such societies were established in every part of the Union, or that correspondents were diffused throughout the United States. You will do me a favour by transmitting me all the numbers that have been published, bound in annual or biennial volumes, and by placing my name on the list of subscribers. The amount of my subscription shall be transmitted through the hands of Messrs. Baxter & Co., in Richmond. Might I not appear too presumptuous, I would entreat you to forward me any litterary productions of merit that either have appeared, or may hereafter appear, in Boston. At the head of this list, I should beg leave to mention the American Biography.

I fear, sir, I have exhausted your patience by this long letter.

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* This copy of Stith is now in the Library of the Historical Society. — Eds.

I will only add to it a repetition of those thanks which you are entitled to from me, and subscribe myself, with the highest respect and esteem, sir,

Your most obliged, humble servant,

S. G. Tucker.

You will receive, by this post, the copy of Stith's History of Virginia, and a small pamphlet.

JAMES SULLIVAN TO DR. BELKNAP.

Boston, July 30, 1795.

Rev. Sir, — I have read, with great pleasure, the letter you were so obliging as to put into my hands from your very valuable correspondent, Mr. Tucker. I admire the goodness of his heart, and the elegance and patriotism of his sentiments; but he, like other good men, has to enjoy by anticipation that which can never be accomplished in his day. The subject which is so near his heart, and appears to employ so great a part of his public contemplations, is not new to me. I have had Governor Jefferson's ideas upon it some years ago, and gave him my opinion, which I will presently give to you, in one word. The objections stated by Mr. Tucker to three measures proposed for emancipating the black people of United America are all well maintained by his unanswerable arguments; while the pain he evidently feels to find a fourth, to which no insurmountable objection could be made, does great honour to his character as a man, and in some degree attones for the violation of human rights which his fellow-citizens have been guilty of. The freedom of the blacks, without allowing them to participate of civil privileges, appears to me the most eligible of the three measures which he has contemplated. But I am clearly of opinion that this would be nothing more than to throw 300,000 of the human race, idle, profligate, and miserable, on the bosom of the earth. These, urged by extreme hunger, and encouraged by combinations of aggravated complaints, supported by an idea of justice from their former sufferings, would take by force what the white people should procure by agriculture; and thus, unless over-

powered and destroyed by military coercion, would spread famine and pestilence through the country. An idea that they would, on such an emancipation, or on one of any other kind, become industrious and regular, will, in my opinion, prove clearly fallacious. Besides this, if they should be inclined to labour, where would they be supplied with lands? or who would furnish them with the means for beginning their new mode of life? To let them have the full liberty of free citizens would be worse still; for the necessity of civil government proves that mankind are corrupt and wicked, and we should find these people holding their suffrages at auction, without holding property worthy of their attention, or a sense of civil liberty worthy of one moment's anxiety. This measure would involve the Southern States in calamity and distress, if not in ruin. The scheme of colonizing them has all the objections that your learned and ingenious correspondent has stated. The expence of carrying them to their new plantation, and furnishing them there with as much support as is generally claimed by the most industrious white people who go into a new country, is more than the Treasury of the United States could possibly bear, even if there were no other expences of government.

Should the 300,000 blacks of Virginia emigrate, under an idea of colonizing, those of the three Southern States would of course be united with them: this would exhibit a multitude of half a million of people, at the least. On their way to their new world, and while they were beginning their settlements, some kind of civil government would be necessary. We have in history but one picture of such an enterprize; and there we see it was necessary, not only to open the sea, by a miracle, for them to pass, but more necessary to close it again, in order to prevent their return. Promises of the most luxuriant kind, assured by a constant and obvious chain of miracles, could hardly restrain them from rebellions and insurrections. Even then, though a spontaneous supply of bread from Heaven supported the camp, and every measure was adopted which could affect the human heart with a proper sense of a necessity for a good and regular government, yet so incapable were the men, who had been bred in a state of slavery, either to submit to or maintain a system of state policy, that it was necessary to waste them all in the wilderness. Should half a million of people, who had been

bred in a state of slavery, find themselves in a country where they were free from a legal restraint, excepting what they should provide for themselves, they could never reduce their individual members to a state of civil society. The emigrants from Europe to America had been always under a government where civil liberty was much contemplated, and as fully enjoyed as it could be in a monarchy; but there never was, or ever can be, a migration of a multitude of slaves to a country of freedom.

The negroes, if they were to colonize, would at once, in separate and independent bodies, commit depredations on their neighbours, and bring the other States into a necessity of reducing them by the sword. From the difficulties suggested by Mr. Tucker, it would seem as if the case was without remedy, and that a state of slavery is entailed for ever on some part of the inhabitants of free America. But there is, in my mind, this resource; and I am obliged to think that it is the only one in the case, and that a very slow one. As there is no way to eradicate the prejudice which education has fixed in the minds of the white against the black people, otherwise than by raising the blacks, by means of mental improvements, nearly to the same grade with the whites, the emancipation of the slaves in United America must be slow in its progress, and ages must be employed in the business. The time necessary to effect this purpose must be as extensive, at least, as that in which slavery has been endured here. The children of the slaves must, at the public expence, be educated in the same manner as the children of their masters; being at the same schools, &c., with the rising generation, that prejudice, which has been so long and inveterate against them on account of their situation and colour, will be lessened within thirty or forty years. There is an objection to this, which embraces all my feelings; that is, that it will tend to a mixture of blood, which I now abhor; but yet, as I feel, I fear that I am not a pure Republican, delighting in the equal rights of all the human race. This mode of education will fit the rising progeny of the black people either to participate with the whites in a free government, or to colonize, and have one of their own. The negroes born after a certain future day may be considered as free at 40 years, those after another at 30, and those after another at 21 years of age. This will, in

the course of time, emancipate all the slaves. To induce them to be industrious members of community, a certain portion of property ought to be considered as necessary to their holding civil offices, or enjoying civil privileges, in common with other citizens. This process, I know, is too slow for the warm and philanthropic feelings of your elegant correspondent; and carries with it the idea of a curse being entailed in the Southern States from the fathers to the children, to the third and fourth generation. Be that as it may, I think the best way is to make haste slowly, and to bear for a time an evil with patience, rather than to aggravate its miseries, and render future attempts discouraging. There have been few instances indeed, in history, where a man educated as a slave has been capable of enjoying freedom. In the most despotic governments, there have appeared champions for liberty; but the event has generally evinced to the world that the greater part of these had acted only from a spirit of ambitious heroism, because they have generally been tyrants as soon as they had established their own power to rule.

There is no doubt a great disparity in the natural abilities of mankind, and we have great reason to believe that the organization of the Affricans is such as prevents their receiving the more fine and sublime impressions equally with the white people; and yet we do not know but that, giving them the same prospects, placing them under the force of the same motives, and conferring upon them the same advantages for the space of time in which 3 or 4 generations shall rise and fall, will so mend the race, and so increase their powers of perception, and so strengthen their faculty for comparing ideas, and understanding the nature and connexion of the external things with which man is surrounded on this globe, as that they may exceed the white people.

When you handed me Mr. Tucker's letter, last evening, expressing your wish to hear my sentiments upon the subject-matter of it, I had no idea of writing you a line; and, when I began, I did not intend to write a page. I have been all the morning surrounded by people on business; and, while I have been conversing with them, I have kept the pen in motion. It is now one o'clock; and I have neither time to correct, or even read, what I have written. If you will, without reading it, conceive from the length of it that I wish to comply with all your requests as soon as they are made, and then commit this to a

warm hearth, it will perhaps be a great act of friendship to him who is always ready to risque himself in the arms of your candour, and who is most perfectly

Your friend and humble servant,

JA. SULLIVAN.

To DR. BELKNAP.

JOHN ADAMS TO DR. BELKNAP.

QUINCY, October 22, 1795.

DEAR SIR, — Enclosed is the letter of Dr. Tucker. If I should agree with him in his maxim, "Fiat justitia ruat cœlum," the question would still remain, What is justice? Justice to the negroes would require that they should not be abandoned by their masters and turned loose upon a world in which they have no capacity to procure even a subsistence. What would become of the old? the young? the infirm? Justice to the world, too, would forbid that such numbers should be turn'd out to live by violence, by theft, or fraud.

I believe no better expedient will be found than to prohibit the importation of new negroes, and soften the severity of the condition of old ones, as much as possible, until the increasing population of the country shall have multiplied the whites to such a superiority of numbers that the blacks may be liberated by degrees, with the consent both of master and servant.

Your sincere JOHN ADAMS.

DR. BELKNAP.

JUDGE TUCKER TO DR. BELKNAP.

WILLIAMSBURG, Oct. 31, 1795.

REVEREND SIR, — I received your favour of the 19th of August, announcing the honor done me by the Massachusetts Historical Society, in electing me a Corresponding Member, with sentiments of the most perfect gratitude, mingled with unfeigned regret. To have obtained so honorable a testimony in my favor could not but be peculiarly flattering to one whose

utmost ambition is to deserve the esteem of those who are most eminently distinguished by their talents, virtues, and useful researches. But, sir, a life chequered with a variety of situations, in all which the attainment of a competent support for a large and growing family was necessarily the immediate object of my pursuits, has never permitted me to cultivate those studies and indulge those researches which are necessary qualifications for a member of that respectable and useful institution. Under such circumstances, to accept of their election would evince a temerity and presumption which the sequel could not fail to detect; whilst a contrary conduct will, I hope, be considered by the Society as the highest testimony of my respect and esteem. Be pleased therefore, sir, to express to them these sentiments in my behalf, and entreat them to impute to a sense of my own unworthiness only a conduct which I most assuredly should not have adopted, could I suppose it possible that it should be construed as the slightest mark of disrespect. Permit me, sir, to offer to the Society my most sincere and ardent wishes for the success of so beneficial an institution. To have contributed to promote the valuable ends of it would have been equally a pride and pleasure to me. Suffer me, also, to thank you, sir, for the obliging manner in which you have communicated the honor intended me. I am, sir, with the highest respect and esteem,

Your much obliged and very humble servant,

S. G. Tucker.

To the Rev. Dr. Belknap, &c., &c., &c.

JUDGE TUCKER TO DR. BELKNAP.

Williamsburg, Nov. 27, 1795.

Sir, — It is with much pleasure that I am at length indulged with an opportunity of thanking you for your favor of the 19th of August, enclosing also a letter from Mr. Sullivan to yourself, and accompanied with some books. They arrived some weeks ago, when I was upon the circuit, and till within a few days past I have either been absent or too much engaged to indulge my wish of writing to you.

I shall indeed be happy, sir, if any thing contained in my letters to you may convince you that the existence of slavery in this country is no longer to be deemed a reproach to the present generation. Much happier should I be, could my enquiries lead to some practicable expedient by which that reproach may for ever be removed from us. Mr. Sullivan's letter, of which I have taken the liberty to take a copy, proposing to return the original by a private conveyance, contains some very just remarks. Strongly as he paints the danger and even the impracticability of the attempt, I hope to see the foundation of universal freedom in the United States laid in this State, by a plan for the gradual abolition of domestic slavery among us. My plan would, indeed, require a century to execute itself; but we ought not to be discouraged from doing good ultimately, because we cannot immediately effect it, or live to see its operation. Mr. Jefferson (and with him Mr. Sullivan seems to accord in sentiment) proposes that all persons born after a certain period shall be free. Mr. S. proposes that the persons so born, who would otherwise have been slaves, shall be held to service till 40, 30, or 21 years of age. This plan would execute itself in little more than half a century. I will not say that this is too speedy; but I incline to suppose that the more gradual the transition from slavery to freedom, the better qualified will the blacks be to enjoy their future condition, and the less violent will the prejudices of the whites be against them as their equals, &c. Besides, it is not improbable that a great proportion of the emancipated blacks would incline to migrate to other parts of the continent, where lands were better and cheaper, and where the distinction between the master and the slave had not taken such deep root as on the Atlantic coast; or where the climate was more congenial to their constitutions and habits. A plan whose operation is most gradual seems, therefore, preferable on many accounts. The agriculture of the lower country being now almost exclusively carried on by the blacks, time should be given to introduce a new system, and to prevent those inconveniences which would inevitably flow from the emancipation and dispersion of those who had been employed in it. Under these impressions, I have thought that the emancipation of the after-born should be confined to females and their descendants, and that those entitled

to freedom should be held to service till the age of 30 years. This latter measure I would propose as some security for their being humanely treated in their infancy; for, otherwise, I am persuaded they would be much exposed for want of due care. The operation of this plan will be best seen by recurring to the aid of figures.

The number of slaves in Virginia, by the census of 1792, being 292,427, we may conclude that at this period they are little short of 300,000. Let it be supposed that their numbers will be such, when a law should pass for the gradual abolition of slavery. If the inhabitants of America double in less than 30 years, as Dr. Franklin calculates, the negroes, whose fertility and increase is immense, may well be supposed to double in that time.

The number of negroes 30 years hence will therefore be 600,000. Sixty years hence they will be 1,200,000. In ninety years they will be 2,400,000.

In thirty years, one-half the present generation may be supposed to be extinct. There will then be 150,000 ante-nati, and 450,000 post-nati. The mean increase of the latter during this period will be 15,000 annually, of which number one-half may be presumed to be males not entitled to freedom, born during the first 16 years, and one-fourth of them born in the latter 14 years, when the emancipated females have begun to breed. The numbers will then stand thus:—

Ante-nati, slaves	150,000	
Post-nati, males born in first 16 years . .	120,000	
Males born of ante-natæ females	52,000	
	322,500	slaves.
Post-natæ females and their children, free-born	277,500	
	600,000	

At this period, the effect of emancipation would first manifest itself by the annual liberation of 9,250 females for 16 years, and the like number of both sexes for the remaining 14 years of the second period of 30 years. Their whole number, in 45 years from the commencement of the plan, would be 138,750, nearly.

Pursuing the train of calculation above, the numbers in 45 years would stand thus: —

Ante-nati slaves, one-fifth of their present number	60,000
Post-nati, males as above 120,000 + 52,500	172,500
Males born of ante-natæ females within last 15 years	13,125
Emancipated post-nati, over 30 years of age	138,750
Post-nati under 30 years of age	515,000
	900,000

In 60 years, the whole of the present race may be calculated to be extinct. Of those born in the first period of 30 years, we may also infer that one-half will be extinct. Their numbers will stand thus: —

One-half slaves born during first period of 30 years	86,250
One-half post-nati free-born during that period	138,125
Slaves born during the 2d period of 30 years	13,125
Post-nati under 30 years, and not fully emancipated	961,875
	1,200,000

In 90 years, those only born after the second period being supposed to be living,

The number of slaves would then be reduced to	13,125	
Three-fifths of the remainder may be supposed to be under 30 years of age, and in a state of service	1,432,125	
	1,445,250	in service.
Two-fifths above 30 years of age, and absolutely free	954,750	
Total blacks	2,400,000	

The continual migrations from this State to the Western country, if slavery be not there prohibited, will render this calcula-

tion infinitely too large. Were we to admit that it was double what it ought to be, the number of blacks would even then be immense; and if in a state of slavery, or of unorganized emancipation, truly formidable. One or other of these evils is utterly unavoidable, unless we have resolution enough shortly to set about the remedy. I am therefore almost resolved to publish something upon the subject; but, before I do, it would give me pleasure to hear your own, Mr. Sullivan's, or any other of your friends' sentiments upon the subject. In my former letter, I believe I mentioned that I thought good policy required that blacks and mulattoes should be excluded from all the valuable rights of citizenship, such as capacity for holding offices, lands, &c. Narrow as this policy may appear, I am persuaded it is necessary for the preservation of the peace of society. I would also disarm them, and, by denying them those privileges here which they might hope to acquire elsewhere, endeavour to prompt them to migrate from hence. The Floridas, Louisiana, and the country south of the mouth of the Mississippi, would, I should hope, afford a continual drain for them. At that distance, they could never be formidable to us, and would possess a climate better adapted to their natural temperature. The number annually arriving at the age of emancipation being small compared with their whole numbers, the loss of their labor, should they emigrate, would be less sensibly felt.

The operation of our late law of descents, by which lands are divided among the children, and even among collaterals in a remote degree, where there are no children, by dividing inheritances, would compel many to labour who now seem only born to consume the fruits of the earth. The progress of both laws being gradual and coeval, it might be hoped that a desirable change of sentiment would accompany this operation. If the blacks should, in a century, appear more capable of cultivation and improvement than our present prejudices will permit us to believe they are, the existing generation of whites may then find it good policy to relax from the strictness of those measures which during the progress of their metamorphosis from slavery might be thought proper. From the preceding sketch, it will appear that, if the policy of holding those to servitude till the age of 30, who may be born among us, should be adhered to, we should never be in want of labourers, since the number under

that age would always be much greater than the present number of slaves among us, which gives to this plan the advantage over any other which I have heard of.

I beg that you will apologize to Mr. Sullivan for the liberty I have taken in copying his letter to you. I shall return the original by the first private conveyance. Any further communications from him, yourself, or any other friend, would be highly acceptable to me.

Permit me to thank you for the books sent. I now enclose a bank-bill for the amount, and will thank you to send me Mr. Sullivan's History of Maine and Williams's History of Vermont, and any other literary productions which you may think worthy of attention. Periodical publications of all kinds are, I think, worthy of encouragement; for in a new country, as ours is, they must be mean indeed, if they do not contain some valuable information. From what I have now said, you will perceive that I am an advocate for all *collections*, without much regard to *selection:* we are too young to aim at, and perhaps to desire, the latter. The plan of your Historical Society pleases me much, and I make no doubt but its object will in time be amply fulfilled. I wish most cordially it were in my power to contribute any thing worthy of notice to such a compilation. But I have to lament a life spent very differently from that manner, which a difference of situation would have enabled me to pursue. The support of a large and increasing family necessarily occupied my attention almost from my first entrance into life, and the task has been too great for my exertions the greater part of my life. My time has therefore been employed in action rather than in study and research. The partiality of my friends has indeed placed me in a situation which renders the latter now as necessary as the former; for the former is still made necessary by my public functions, which call me from home full half the year. Pardon me, sir, for this piece of egotism. It is, however, necessary, in order to apologize to you for a seeming indifference to that honour for which I am persuaded I am indebted to your friendly opinion. Believe me that I should rejoice, could I persuade myself that I were worthy of a place among the Corresponding Members of the Massachusetts Historical Society. In a separate letter, directed to you as their Corresponding Secretary, I have therefore declined the election, from a conscious-

ness of my own unworthiness; and I beg you will do me the favour to represent that sentiment as the only reason for my doing it. If, however, such a conduct should appear liable to be construed into a disrespect for the Society, be pleased for the present to suppress the communication of that letter.*

Since my last, your favor dated May 8th, with several pamphlets, has been received, for which accept my best thanks. By a private conveyance, I shall send you one or two pamphlets, among which will be a 2d copy of the letter to Dr. Morse. I should be happy to see some reparation from his pen for the injustice done to the character of the inhabitants of this little place. If Mr. Webb be still in Boston, be pleased to make my compliments to him. Mr. Hust I have never seen, since he favoured me with an introduction to you. I believe he is in Philadelphia. Believe me, with the greatest respect and esteem, and with a grateful sense of your favours, sir,

Your most obedient and obliged

S. G. Tucker.

JUDGE TUCKER TO DR. BELKNAP.

Williamsburg, August 9, 1796.

My dear Sir, — Your favor of the 18th of May by some accident did not reach my hands till nearly two months after, and then found me in a state of anxiety from the dangerous illness of a part of my family, which would not permit me sooner to acknowledge the receipt of it. I thank you, sir, for the very cordial and flattering expressions of your friendship which it manifests, and I feel my mind so much impressed with a sense of your kindness, that I shall always regret the little prospect I have of being able to improve the pleasure of your acquaintance by a personal intercourse; a circumstance which, if it is ever permitted me to avail myself of, I shall embrace with ardor.

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* Dr. Belknap did suppress the letter, and Judge Tucker's name was allowed to remain on the roll of the Society. In a list of members of the Society from its institution, prefixed to 4 Collections, I., 1852, Judge Tucker's name appears as "Hon. *Henry* St. George Tucker," and it so stands in a later list. This does not agree with the earlier record of the name in our volumes, and is believed to be an error. A son of Judge Tucker bore that name. — Eds.

The desire of being known to those whom we esteem is, I hope, at least pardonable; and it is not without a wish to render such an event still more agreeable to me that I take the liberty of making my friends known to you also. Enclosed you will receive a copy of a poem written by a brother with whom, until the age of nineteen, I lived in the most happy fraternal intercourse; it is now more than twenty-three years since we have been separated by that cruel necessity which he so pathetically paints in the beginning of the third page. The other is an oration delivered by another brother. As it contains some of the best observations I have met with on the republican form of government, I make no doubt the perusal will afford you pleasure.

It is with infinite regret that I am informed that the encouragement to the labours of the Massachusetts Historical Society is not sufficient to enable them to continue their publications. Every impediment of the kind is to be lamented; for we live in a time, and in a country, where the harvest truly is abundant, but the labourers few, and these so badly paid that I fear their numbers will not readily be augmented. I flatter myself, however, sir, that in your part of the United States the encouragement to literary pursuits is sufficient to enable, if not to excite, men of talents to publish the result of their labours and researches; and I would fain hope that your own success will confirm the idea that I had formed on the subject. With us the dawn of literary achievements is still, I fear, very far removed. Mr. Jefferson is the only man in this country who has as yet entered the public lists; and had Mr. Jefferson been unable to print his own work, at his own expence, it would probably have mouldered in the dust of his closet. The archives of this country are almost as little known as its natural history; and the characters of men perish with their corporal existence. Yet has this country produced men of genius and of learning, and of virtues sufficient to have obtained them a fair seat in the temple of fame, had it been their fortune to move in any other sphere. I think I can discover that it is otherwise in your part of the continent; and I hope I am not deceived in the conjecture.

I take this opportunity of enclosing a ten-dollar bill, in payment for the books sent me in the winter, the amount of which

was nine dollars. I shall be thankful to you to send me any valuable publications that may appear in your quarter of the continent.

I am on the point of removing my family to the mountains till the month of November. On my return, I shall hope to receive a letter from you, to which I shall not fail to pay due attention.

I am, with very great respect and esteem, dear sir,

Your much obliged humble servant,

S. G. Tucker.

JUDGE TUCKER TO DR. BELKNAP.

Williamsburg, April 3, 1797.

Dear Sir, — I received with extreme concern your favor of the 27th of February, and most sincerely lament the severe attack your health has sustained; yet I am willing to flatter myself the present and approaching season will prove favourable for its restoration. That such may be the event I most sincerely and devoutly wish.

Your conjecture respecting my family is very just. It has been established in Bermuda from the first settlement of the island, and I was born at the very spot which Smith mentions by the name of the *Overplus*, about which there was some contest between the Governor and the Company. My mother still resides there, and my eldest brother, after her decease, will probably do the like. An early attachment to this place, where I finished my education, fixed me an American citizen; and I shall probably end my days where I have spent the greater part of them.*

I feel great regret that your experience of the encouragement afforded literary merit in America does not answer the idea I

* Judge Tucker was born in Bermuda, June 29, 1752. He graduated at William and Mary College in 1772. In 1778 he married the mother of John Randolph, by whom he had several children. One was Henry St. George, and another Nathaniel Beverly. This latter was the author of an unfinished novel, called "The Partisan Leader," published in 1837, and reprinted in 1861. Judge Tucker was not only the author of several works on law and government, and an annotator of Blackstone, but he wrote a number of poems which have been much admired. He died in November, 1827. — Eds.

had formed of it, at least in your part of the United States. I had flattered myself it was otherwise, and entertained no small hope that the example would in time travel south.

I published a Dissertation on Slavery, with a plan for the abolition of it in this State, last fall. By some unaccountable inattention I have not yet received (from Philadelphia) the copies which were to have been sent me, one of which I had destined for your perusal. I sent a copy to each house of our Assembly. The book was *suffered* to lie on the table of the House of Delegates, though even that civility was attempted to be denied it. From the Senate (who have not the power of originating any measure) it received a more civil treatment; and, had the constitution permitted them to introduce a bill, I am inclined to suppose something would have been attempted. When I receive the copies I stipulated for, I shall make a point of forwarding some to you.*

Illiberal as our last Assembly may appear from this specimen of their conduct, it gives me pleasure to inform you that they passed an act for mitigating the severity of our penal code. By this act, murder in the first degree (viz., by poisoning, lying in wait, &c.) is the only crime punishible with death, ; all others being punished by imprisonment and solitary confinement, with hard labour, for different periods, from one to one-and-twenty years. The general outlines of the act are taken, as I am informed, from the Pennsylvania act upon the same subject. As a human being, I rejoice in this softening of the rigors of human justice. As one whom duty compels him to carry into effect those rigid laws which often make human nature revolt against human punishments, I feel an inexpressible relief to my mind; and I cannot but hope that this circumstance proves that the most deep-rooted prejudices may in time be successfully attacked and finally eradicated. I do myself the pleasure of sending you a speech made on the occasion by the originator of the act in our Assembly, who is an élève of this College.

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* Judge Tucker's treatise was entitled "A Dissertation on Slavery, with a Proposal for the Gradual Abolition of it, in the State of Virginia. By St. George Tucker, Professor of Law in the University of William and Mary, and one of the Judges of the General Court in Virginia. . . . Philadelphia: Printed for Mathew Carey, . . . 1796." The Historical Society has two copies of this book, said now to be very rare. It was reprinted in New York in 1861. — Eds.

Permit me to entreat a continuance of your favors, whenever your health will permit you to gratify me without injury or fatigue to you. That you may perfectly recover the enjoyment of that invaluable blessing, and with it every other sublunary comfort, is the very sincere wish of, dear sir,

Your much obliged friend and servant,

S. G. Tucker.

P. S. I am much obliged to you for the Forresters. I had perused the first edition some time ago with much pleasure.

The Reverend Doctor Belknap, Boston.

JUDGE TUCKER TO DR. BELKNAP.

Norfolk, August 13, 1797.

My dear Sir, — It is some months since I had the pleasure of hearing from you, a circumstance which I sometimes fear I may ascribe to the failure in the re-establishment of your health; that I may be mistaken in this idea I most sincerely wish.

I embrace the present opportunity of enclosing you a copy of my proposal for the abolition of slavery in this country: surrounded by difficulties on every side, but convinced that mistaken self-interest and prejudice were the most formidable enemies I had to encounter, I endeavored to elude, rather than invite, their attacks. With this view, I proposed the most gradual plan that could possibly eventually produce the desired effect. I guarded it with every restriction that I supposed timidity or prejudice could insist on; and I endeavoured to lull avarice itself to sleep by demonstrating the slow progress and insencible effects of my proposal. A copy of the pamphlet was sent with a respectful letter addressed to the speakers of both houses of our Assembly. In the House of Delegates, a motion was made to send the letter and its enclosure back to the author, which produced, I believe, a warm debate, which ended with their being suffered to lie on the table. The advocates for the motion had certainly never read or heard the plan read. From the Speaker of the Senate I received such a letter as in-

duced a supposition in my mind that the reception was very different in that house. But they have not the power to originate any bill in the Senate: the matter therefore rested with a civil acknowledgement, &c.

Notwithstanding this ill success, I ought not to be discouraged. Not a copy of the pamphlet had been transmitted to Virginia (except four to myself, two of which were lost) when it was presented to the House. Nobody, I believe, had read it; nobody could explain its contents. Nobody was prepared to meet the blind fury of the enemies of freedom; and our Assembly was at that time split into factions, debating upon federal politics, and neither side probably wished to weaken its own influence by a division of sentiment among its partizans on any point whatever. But, when I thus express myself, I must be understood as not cherishing the smallest hope of advancing a cause so dear to me as the abolition of slavery. Actual suffering will one day, perhaps, open the oppressors' eyes. Till that happens, they will shut their ears against argument.

Accept, sir, my sincerest wishes for the perfect restoration of your health, and for the enjoyment of every sublunary blessing, and believe me, with unfeigned sentiments of esteem and friendship,

Your most obedient humble servant,

S. G. Tucker.

JUDGE TUCKER TO DR. BELKNAP.

Williamsburg, June 5, 1798.

Dear Sir, — I was some time since favoured with your letter, accompanied by Doctor Morse's Geographical Grammar; and at the moment of leaving home this spring, I received your favor of the 8th of February, with Mr. Minot's continuation of the History of Massachusetts, for all which be pleased to accept my best acknowledgements. In the expectation of seeing Mr. Jefferson this spring at his own house, I deferred making of him the enquiry you requested; but, finding there was no longer any hope of a personal communication, I wrote to him not long since in Philadelphia. His answer is in the following words: "At

an early part of my life, from 1762 to 1775, I passed much time in going through the public records in Virginia, then in the Secretary's office, and especially those of a very early date of our settlement. In these are abundant instances of purchases made by our first assemblies of the Indians living around them. The opinion I formed at the time was, that, if the records were complete and thoroughly searched, it would be found that nearly the whole of the lower country was covered by these contracts. Sometimes at the conclusion of a war, land would be ceded by them as an indemnification, but I think there were few instances of this. In general, the colony lived in peace with the Indians. Their habitations touched one another, and the latter receded gradually and peaceably. I do not know in what States the public records are since the British invasion; but, if preserved, the facts I state may be abundantly verified from them."

Thus far Mr. Jefferson. In Purvis's collection of the laws of Virginia, there is an act, either passed or re-enacted in 1662, which recites "that the laws prohibiting the purchase of any Indian's lands (unless acknowledged at General Courts or Assemblies, by reason it is easy to fright them to a public, as well as a private acknowledgement) are made fruitless and ineffectual, corrupt interpreters often adding to this mischief by rendering them willing to surrender, when indeed they intended to receive a confirmation of their own rights, and a redress of their wrongs; which mischiefs, had they continued, must needs have involved the country in war, for remedy whereof it is enacted, that for the future no Indian king, or other, shall upon any pretence alien or sell; nor any English, for any cause or consideration whatsoever, purchase or buy any tract or parcel of land justly claimed or actually possessed by any Indian or Indians whatever, all such bargains and sales thereafter made or pretended to be made being thereby declared null and void." And further, "That what Englishman hath already, contrary to the laws formerly in force for surrendering and acknowledging Indians' lands, made incroachments or seated upon them, shall, if they make not good proof of their title, upon complaint made, be, by order directed to the sheriff to execute, removed from their seats of lands thus wrongfully encroached, and all houses by them built upon the said lands be demolished and burned." The same act provides that the Indians' bounds should be fixed,

and thereafter annually visited, that no intrenchment might thenceforth be made upon the Indians. This act is, I presume, of a much earlier date than 1662, being one of 138 acts which appear to have been collected and republished, or re-enacted at that period.

By an act made in 1665, it appears that the boundaries of the Indians south of James River were limited by the southern branches of the Black-Water River, thence to the Appamatuck Indian town (Petersburg), and thence cross the river to the Monakin Indian town (about fifteen miles above Richmond). This act refers to an agreement the date of which is not specified.

In 1676, the title of an act occurs, "concerning Indian lands deserted." This was during Bacon's usurpation. All the acts of this Assembly were declared null and void by proclamation, as also by a subsequent act of assembly passed in the same year.

In 1705, we find an act declaring that it shall not be lawful for any Indian king, or any other tributary Indians whatever, to bargain and sell, or demise to any person or persons, other than to some of their own nation, or their posterity in fee, for life or for years, the lands laid out and appropriated for the use of the said Indians, or any part or parcel thereof; or to bargain and sell, as aforesaid, any other land whatsoever, then actually possessed, or justly claimed and pretended to by the said Indians, or any of them, by virtue of the articles of peace made and concluded with the said Indians the 29th day of May, 1677, and every bargain, sale, or demise contrary to that act, is declared void. From the same act it appears that one of the articles of that treaty was, "that no English shall seat or plant nearer than three miles of any Indian town;" but the act declares that this shall not be construed to prohibit the seating on the opposite side of a navigable river, though within three miles of an Indian town.

These acts throw but little light upon the subject of your enquiries. I thought, however, it might not be unacceptable to you to notice them. As I seldom visit Richmond, and, when I do, but for a few days, I fear it will not be in my power to make such researches into our public records as I could wish.

Be pleased to subscribe for the Collections of the Massachu-

setts Historical Society in my behalf. We have nothing, in this part of the continent, from the press, beyond newspaper essays.

I am, with the greatest respect and esteem, dear sir,

Your obliged friend and servant,

S. G. TUCKER.

Having just returned, I have not yet had time to dip into Minot's Continuation. Doctor Morse's Grammar, like all first attempts, has its errors; but even errors are useful, where they may lead to their own correction.

NEGRO PETITIONS FOR FREEDOM.

The recent Petition sent in by [torn]

To his Excellency Thomas Hutch[inson Gov]ernor of said Provnce, to the Honorable his Majestys Council, [and to the] Honourable House of Representatives in General Court assembled June 1773.

The Petition of us the subscribers in behalf of all thous who by divine Permission are held in a state of slavery, within the bowels of a free Country, Humbly sheweth, —

That your Petitioners apprehend they have in comon with other men a naturel right to be free and without molestation to injoy such Property as thay may acquire by their industry, or by any other means not detrimetal to their fellow men, and that no person can have any just claim to their services unless

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To his Excellency Thomas Gage Esq Captain General and Governor in Chief in and over this Province.

To the Honourable his Majestys Council and the Honourable House of Representatives in General Court assembled may 25 177—*

The Petition of a Grate Number of Blackes of this Province who by divine permission are held in a state of Slavery within the bowels of a free and christian Country

Humbly Shewing

That your Petitioners apprehind we have in common with all other men a naturel right to our freedoms without Being de-

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* The last numeral has been altered once or twice, and looks a little like 7. But the heading of the petition would show that its date should be 1774. — Eds.

priv'd of them by our fellow men as we are a freeborn Pepel and have never forfeited this Blessing by aney compact or agreement whatever. But we were unjustly dragged by the cruel hand of power from our dearest frinds and sum of us stolen from the bosoms of our tender Parents and from a Populous Pleasant and plentiful country and Brought hither to be made slaves for Life in a Christian land. Thus are we deprived of every thing that hath a tendency to make life even tolerable, the endearing ties of husband and wife we are strangers to for we are no longer man and wife then our masters or mestreses thinkes proper marred or onmarred. Our children are also taken from us by force and sent maney miles from us wear we seldom or ever see them again there to be made slaves of for Life which sumtimes is vere short by Reson of Being dragged from their mothers Breest Thus our Lives are imbittered to us on these accounts By our deplorable situation we are rendered incapable of shewing our obedience to Almighty God how can a slave perform the duties of a husband to a wife or parent to his child How can a husband leave master and work and cleave to his wife How can the wife submit themselves to there husbands in all things. How can the child obey thear parents in all things. There is a grat number of us sencear . . . members of the Church of Christ how can the master and the slave be said to fulfil that command Live in love let Brotherly Love contuner and abound Beare yea onenothers Bordenes How can the master be said to Beare my Borden when he Beares me down whith the Have chanes of slavery and operson against my will and how can we fulfill our parte of duty to him whilst in this condition and as we cannot searve our God as we ought whilst in this situation Nither can we reap an equal benefet from the laws of the Land which doth not justifi but condemns Slavery or if there had bin aney Law to hold us in Bondege we are Humbely of the Opinon ther never was aney to inslave our children for life when Born in a free Countrey. We therfor Bage your Excellency and Honours will give this its deu weight and consideration and that you will accordingly cause an act of the legislative to be pessed that we may obtain our Natural right our freedoms and our children be set at lebety at the yeare of Twenty one for whoues sekes more petequeley your Petitioners is in Duty ever to Pray.

To his Excellency Thomas Gage Governor: —*

To the Honourable His Majesty's Council, and the Honourable House of Representatives of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay in General Court assembled, June — Anno Domini 1774.

The Petition of us the Subscribers, in behalf of all those, who, by divine permission, are held in a State of *Slavery* within the Bowels of a Free Country.

Humbly Sheweth

That your petitioners apprehend, they have in common with other men, a natural right to be free, and without molestation, to enjoy such property, as they may acquire by their industry, or by any other means not detrimental to their fellow men; and that no person can have any just claim to their services unless by the laws of the land they have forfeited them, or by voluntary compact become servants; neither of which is our case; but we were dragged by the cruel hand of power, some of us from our dearest connections, and others stolen from the bosoms of tender parents and brought hither to be enslaved. Thus are we deprived of every thing that has a tendency to make life even tol[erable.] Whenever any social connections are formed among embittered by the cruel consideration of deprived of enjoying life in the same agre- [able fel]low men, who were made by the Inherit the like salvation with us. tion, we are rendered incapable of the Supreme Governor of the universe, to the duties, which are due unto him. an intolerable grievance, we are often under the necessity of obeying *man*, not only in omission of, but frequently in opposition to the laws of God. So inimical is Slavery to religion! As we are hinder'd by our situation from an observance of the Laws of God, so we cannot reap an equal benefit from the Laws of the Land with other subjects. We are informed, there is no law of this Province, whereby our

* This petition was drawn up by a more skilful hand, as regards penmanship and orthography. — Eds.

masters can claim our services, mere custom is the tyrant that keeps us in bondage, and deprives us of that use of the law, which our fellow men, who we believe under God are no better than us, are entitled to and do enjoy. We do not claim rigid justice, but as we are deserving like other men, of some compensation for all our toils and sufferings; we would therefore in addition to our prayer, that all of us, excepting such as are now infirm through age, or otherways unable to support themselves, may be liberated and made free men of this community, and be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of its free and natural born subjects. Further humbly ask that your Excellency and Honours would be pleased to give and grant to us some part of the unimproved land, belonging to the province, for a settlement, that each of us may there quietly sit down under his own fig tree [and enjoy] the fruits of his labour.

We humbly
Honours, will give this sch
consideration: and pray
cause and act of the Legislative
the slaves throughout this
obtain their freedom from
at the same time prohibiting any being sent out of the Province, previous to the said acts taking place; or at least to declare, that there is no Law whatever for keeping us in Bondage.

But if your Excellency and Honours cannot in wisdom adopt this plan of relief for us, we humbly and earnestly request, that you would release us from bondage by such other ways or means, as to your Excellency and Honours shall seem good and wise upon the whole. And your Petitioners, as in duty bound shall ever pray.

To the Honorable Counsel & House of [*Representa*]*tives for the State of Massachusitte Bay in General Court assembled, Jan.* 13, 1777.*

The petition of A Great Number of Blackes detained in a State of slavery in the Bowels of a free & Christian Country Humbly shuwith that your Petitioners apprehend that thay have in Common with all other men a Natural and Unaliable Right to that freedom which the Grat Parent of the Unavers hath Bestowed equalley on all menkind and which they have Never forfuted by any Compact or agreement whatever — but thay wher UnjustlyDragged by the hand of cruel Power from their Derest friends and sum of them Even torn from the Embraces of their tender Parents — from A popolous Pleasant and plentiful contry and in violation of Laws of Nature and off Nations and in defiance of all the tender feelings of humanity Brough hear Either to Be sold Like Beast of Burthen & Like them Condemnd to Slavery for Life — Among A People Profesing the mild Religion of Jesus A people Not Insensible of the Secrets of Rationable Being Nor without spirit to Resent the unjust endeavours of others to Reduce them to a state of Bondage and Subjection your honouer Need not to be informed that A Life of Slavery Like that of your petioners Deprived of Every social privilege of Every thing Requiset to Render Life Tolable is far worse then Nonexistance.

[In imitat]ion of the Lawdable Example of the Good People of these States your petiononers have Long and Patiently waited the Evnt of petition after petition By them presented to the Legislative Body of this state and cannot but with Grief Reflect that their Sucess hath ben but too similar they Cannot but express their Astonishment that It has Never Bin Consirdered that Every Principle from which Amarica has Acted in the Cours of their unhappy Deficultes with Great Briton Pleads Stronger than A thousand arguments in favowrs of your petioners they therfor humble Beseech your honours to give this

* This petition, in an improved form, is on the files at the State House in Massachusetts Archives, Vol. 212, p. 132. It is signed by Prince Hall and a few others. — Eds.

petion its due weight & consideration and cause an act of the Legislatur to be past Wherby they may Be Restored to the Enjoyments of that which is the Naturel Right of all men — and their Children who wher Born in this Land of Liberty may not be heald as Slaves after they arive at the age of Twenty one years so may the Inhabitance of thes Stats No longer chargeable with the inconsistancey of acting themselves the part which thay condem and oppose in others Be prospered in their present Glorious struggle for Liberty and have those Blessing to them, &c.

BRIEF OF LEVI LINCOLN

IN THE

SLAVE CASE TRIED 1781.*

Jennison vs. *Caldwell.*

1 Quest. Is Quork Jennison's servant.

2dly. Did he [that is, Caldwell] entice and seduce him or rescue him.

Is he a servant by his own consent.

Is he a born slave. Mr. Sprague reads a bill of sale to James Caldwell, May 4, 1754.

Is there any thing peculiar to his form or person that makes him a slave — we differ. But we differ as much from them, as they do from us — are born in the same manner, our bones clothed with the same kind of flesh, live and die in the same manner. Is there any thing therefore in his person.

Is he a slave by the custom of the country. A custom must be general. It is not a general custom. It has ever been against the principles of some to make slaves, who have freed them.

It must be undisputed. It has always been disputed in the Genl Ct. and courts of justice — and else where.

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* This case was tried before the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts at the September term, 1781. Caleb Strong and Levi Lincoln were counsel for the defendant, and Judge Sprague and William Stearns for the plaintiff. This brief of Levi Lincoln has been literally copied, with all its clerical errors, from the original in his own handwriting, in a volume of his briefs in the Library of the American Antiquarian Society. The paper is in the form of two briefs. In the heading of the second there is an error in the Christian name of one of the defendants. They were John and Seth Caldwell. This brief has been used by Professor Emory Washburn in an interesting article on the "Extinction of Slavery in Massachusetts," in the Proceedings of this Society for May, 1857. For a history of this case, and an account of the several trials, all of which substantially involved the question as to the slavery or freedom of the negro, Quork Walker, see Judge Gray's paper read before this Society at the April meeting, 1874, in the Proceedings. — Eds.

It must not be against reason — which we will consider by and by.

The air in America is too pure for a slave to breathe in.

But Sprague says our ancestors were pious.

Is he a slave by the law of the country — the several laws of the State read. In derogation of common law — to be construed strickly.

The Constitution.

But contrary to the law of nature.

Consequences to the poor of the country.

Sending them to the West Indies.

Selling children from parents.

One common —

Nathaniel Jennison vs. *Wm. Caldwell and Others.* The negro a ser[vant?] Caldwell, &c.

I don't feel anxious about the event.

Question. If Quork is Mr. Jennison's servant.

2dly. If Defendants inticed him away.

First Plf. say the Negro is a servant by his own consent. If so there must be some evidence of that consent either implied or expressed — and the terms understood — and some term of time agreed on — for if he consented to be his servant and no time agreed on it will be only during will which he may put an end to when he pleases.

No evidence of consent.

Secondly that he is so by bill of sale and is his property. That he was the property of one Caldwell, &c., his servant which was his money — and that he passed from him to Jennison's wife.

The first authority is Exodus — he is money. This was peculiar to the Jews. They were allowed to make slaves of the heathen round about them — but if their brother waxed poor, he could not be their bond slave, but should serve as a hired man — we are brothers.

The law of the State — any laws, against the laws of nature, void. Laws that establish slavery against the laws of nature. Blackstone — 1 Blac. 91, 31, 423.

Mr. Stearns says the custom and usage of the country consider slavery as right.

Objt. Custom and usages against reason and right, Void.

Exodus says a man's servant is his money — from thence the gent argues slavery — but gent are you to try cases by the old Jewish laws — this was an indulgence to that nation, to make slaves of the heathen round about them.

But even by these severe laws, w[h]ere there was eye for eye, and tooth for tooth, they were not allowed to make slaves of their brothers, for if he waxed poor, the[y] should not make a bond slave of him, but hire him.

This Quork is our brother. We all had one common origin, descended from the same parents, are cloathed with the same kind of flesh, had the same breath of life — have the same common Saviour.

Has Mr. Caldwell enticed him. When one fellow subject is restrained of his liberty, it is an attack on every subject — every one has a right.

What is the consequence of your verdict — will it not be glad tidings of great joy — it is opening the prison doors and letting the prisoner go free.

Can we expect to triumph over G. Britain, to get free ourselves until we let those go free under us. Are we not acting as Pharaoh and the Egyptians in not letting the [the end of the sentence].

Mr. Stearns. Slavery is a respectable affair in this country.

The question is not whether — So Haman's situation was exalted.

Mr. Stearns, says it is not true that all men a[re] born free, for children are born under the power of their parents — not as slaves — to be nursed, nurtured and educated for their good. But the black child is born as much and free and white.*

Says the constitution only determines that those that have been born since are equal and free. Says that since the Constitution he agrees everybody is born free. But people will lose their property, and be starved.

It is begging the question. Is he property, if so, treat him as stock, as the ox and the horse.

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* *Sic.* — Eds.

Says you are to enquire it is a good or bad custom. Is it not a bad custom?

What is the consequence — how does the matter originate, and what are the consequences. Kidnapping and man-stealing in the negro country. [The damages — and attack on the liberty of the subject, is a dangerous outrage on the community] *

The consequence here, the child (the infant) may be wrested from the breast of its mother — sold or given away, as a pig or puppy — the mother never to see it again.

Is not their child as dear to black subjects as to white.

Is not this contrary to nature. Does not Heaven say so, in the greatest degree — can a woman forget her sucking child.

But does not the beasts and birds nurture and bring up their offspring who acts by instinct.

The master has a right to separate the Husband and wife — is this consistent with the law of nature. Is it consistent with the law of nature to separate what God has joined and no man can put asunder.

Mr. Sprague says in England, for crimes, a person may be sent into other parts, from their parents, sisters, and brothers — never to return.

In the present case, a subject of this free com^{n}wealth may be taken from his friends, father, mother, sisters and brothers, on ship with spavined horses to the West Indies.

Says in the early ages of the country they were needed to cultivate.

It is injurious to the poor people.

Says the children of slaves must be slaves, because our first parents fell and we with them.

Mr. Sprague speaks of law.

Speaks of the last adjudication on the laws.

Says negroes were the property of their master.

But we all a[re] born in the same manner, have our bones clothed with the same kind of flesh, had the same breath of life breathed into us — are all under the same Gospel dispensation, have one common Saviour, inhabit the same com[mon] globe of earth, die in the same manner, the white may have their

* Erased. — Eds

bodies wrapt in rather finer linnen, and his coffin a little more decorated — and then all distinctions of mens making ends — we all sleep on a level in the dust. Shall all be raised by the sound of one common trump, calling to all that are in their graves without distinction, to arise. Shall be arraigned at one common bar. Shall have one common judge, tried by one common jury — condemned or acquitted by one common law — by the Gospel, the perfect law of liberty.

This cause will then be tried over again, and your verdict, gentlemen of the jury, will then be tried. Therefore, gentlemen of the jury, let me conjure you to give such a verdict now as will stand the test, as will be approved of by your own minds in the last moments of your existence — by your Judge at the last day.

It will then be tried by the laws of reason and revelation.

Is it not a law of nature that all men are equal and free.

Is not the laws of nature the laws of God.

Is not the law of God, then, against Slavery. If there is no law of man establishing of it, there is no difficulty. If there is, then the great difficulty is to determine which law you ought to obey — and if you should have the same ideas as I have of present and future things, you will obey the former. For the worst that can happen to you for disobeying the former is the destruction of the body, for the last, that of your own souls.

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Is he a slave by law.

INDEX.

INDEX.

A.

Abbeville, ——, I. 438.
Abbot, ——, *innkeeper*, I. 387.
"Abby," *sloop*, II. 322, 326, 348.
"Account of the College of New Jersey," II. 27, 28.
Adams, Hugh, I. 212.
Adams, *Pres.* John, II. 116, 117, 133, 135, 152, 191, 219, 270, 273, 321. Letter of, to Dr. Belknap, on slavery in Massachusetts, 401, 402. Letter of, to Dr. Belknap, 416.
Adams, *Mrs. Pres.* John, II. 270, 272–274.
Adams, *Rev.* Joseph, I. 212, 217.
Adams, Nathaniel, his "Annals of Portsmouth" cited, I. 162 *n.*, 169 *n.*, 225 *n.*
Adams, *Gov.* Samuel, II. 17, 18, 140, 141, 145, 151, 154, 156, 356, 397.
Adams, Thomas, II. 301.
Addams, Jonas, II. 242, 246, 248, 251, 290, 293, 295, 301.
Aitken, Robert, I. 124, 125, 151, 157, 161, 178, 179, 181, 188, 189, 211, 215, 226, 230–232, 234, 236, 241, 246, 256–262, 265, 270, 273–278, 281, 286, 287, 289, 290, 292, 293, 298, 299, 302–305, 316–319, 322, 327, 328, 331–335, 337, 341–343, 348, 351, 352, 354, 356–358, 361, 369, 370, 372, 374, 376, 377, 379, 380, 382, 383, 386, 401–404, 406–408, 410, 411, 413, 414, 416, 417, 419, 420, 424, 425, 435, 438, 440, 442, 446, 468, 473, 476, 483, 484, 492, 497, 499; II. 1, 9, 15, 142, 168, 170, 179, 188, 211, 256, 267, 269, 274, 276, 277 *n.*, 279, 281, 288, 293–295, 300, 303, 326, 343, 344, 346, 348, 349, 352, 357, 360–362. His edition of the Bible, I. 159, 162. His Pennsylvania magazine, 161, 164, 169. Joseph Belknap bound apprentice to him, 245. His literary newspaper, 245, 249. Pronunciation of his name, 339. Joseph Belknap released from his articles of apprenticeship, 479, 480.
Aitken, *Mrs.* Robert, I. 299, 335.
Albany, *N. Y.*, Congress at in 1754, II. 153, 155.
Allen, *Col.* Ethan, I. 24, 27; II. 167.
Allen, *Gov.* Samuel, I. 119.
Allen, Thomas, II. 209.
Allen, William, *D.D.*, I. 225 *n.*
Allen, ——, *of New York*, I. 491.
Almon, John, his "Remembrancer," I. 451.
America, Dr. Belknap's conjectures concerning the original population of, I. 127, 135, 138, 151, 159, 167–168, 177, 353, 413, 417.
"America," *frigate*, launch of the, I. 169.
"America Invincible," *a poem*, II. 43.
American Academy of Arts and Sciences, I. 34, 40, 46, 68, 88, 94, 110 *n.*, 436, 490, 494, 496; II. 103, 109, 160, 292, 294, 299, 333, 349. Foundation of the, I. 63. Ebenezer Hazard elected a member of the, 88. Dr. Belknap elected a member of the, 404.
American Antiquarian Society, II. 377, 438 *n.*
"American Apollo," the, II. 275, 277, 280, 281, 283, 285, 288, 290–292, 294, 296, 298, 302, 304, 309, 311, 315, 322, 355. Sketch of the, 277 *n.* Cited, 351 *n.*
American characteristics, I. 415.
American chronology, a compilation of, suggested by Hazard, I. 37, 50, 117, 119, 123.
American geography, Hazard's proposed work on, I. 5, 14, 25, 26.
"American Herald," *newspaper*, I. 370.
"American Magazine," the, II. 69 *n.*, 71, 78, 82, 83, 88, 91–95.
"American Museum," the, I. 451 *n.*, 454, 462, 463, 465, 469, 473, 476, 489; II. 38, 139, 315.
American Philosophical Society, *Philadelphia*, I. 33, 52, 75, 255, 300, 305, 316, 326, 332, 379, 404 *n.*, 406, 411, 412, 425, 435; II. 179, 188, 190, 242, 283, 288, 292, 294–297, 315, 318, 321, 328, 354.
Ames Fisher, *LL.D.*, II. 6, 244, 246, 247.
Amesbury, *Mass.*, whirlwind at, I. 38, 50, 56.
Amory, Thomas C., his "Life of General Sullivan" cited, I. 433 *n.*
Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, *Boston*, II. 40.

Anderson, Elizabeth (Mrs. Breese), II. 371 *n.*
Anderson, Garland, II. 371 *n.*
Anderson, *Mrs.* Jane (Chevalier), II. 371 *n.*
André, *Major* John, I. 77.
Andrews, Ebenezer T., II. 83 *n.*, 257. See also "Thomas & Andrews, *Messrs.*"
Andrews, *Rev.* Jedediah, II. 311, 317, 322.
Andrews, John, *D.D.*, II. 98.
Andros, *Sir* Edmund, I. 119.
Annan, *Rev.* Robert, I. 447; II. 341.
Ansley. See "Harrison & Ansley, *Messrs.*"
Anthony, Joseph, II. 242, 244.
Anthony, Thomas, II. 242, 244, 249.
Anthony & Hewes, *Messrs.*, II. 244.
"Anti-Burghers," the, I. 180.
"Apollo Press," *Boston*, the, II. 355.
Apple-trees, blossoming of in New Hampshire in 1784, I. 349.
Appleton, Nathaniel, II. 217, 332. Note of, to Dr. Belknap, II. 388.
Appleton, *Rev.* Nathaniel, II. 389 *n.*
Appleton, Nathaniel Walker, *M.D.*, II. 347.
Arnold, *Gov.* Benedict, *of Rhode Island*, I. 3.
Arnold, *Gen.* Benedict, I. 77; II. 410.
Arthur, Abigail. See "Hazard, *Mrs.* Ebenezer."
Arthur, Joseph, II. 371 *n.*
Asbestos, II. 38, 47, 49.
Atherton, *Gen.* Humphrey, I. 19.
Atkinson, George, I. 175.
"Atlas Geographus," the, I. 37.
Atlee, William Augustus (?), I. 355.
"Auguste, l'," *French war vessel*, accident to the, I. 162.
Avery, ——, I. 109; II. 40.

B.

Babson, John J., his "History of Gloucester" cited, I. 171 *n.*
Bache, Richard, II. 190.
Bacon, Francis, *Lord Verulam*, I. 38.
Bacon, Nathaniel, II. 430.
Bailey, Francis, I. 122, 171, 183, 249, 413, 417; II. 24, 29.
Baillie (Baylie), Robert, II. 364.
Baker's Cove, I. 128.
Balch, Nathaniel, II. 342.
Baldwin, Abraham, II. 66.
Ball, William, I. 274, 286, 292, 479, 483; II. 301, 344.
Ballooning, I. 377.
Baltimore, Cecil Calvert, *Lord*, II. 114, 126, 132.
Bank of the United States, I. 301.
Banks, *Sir* Joseph, II. 411.
Barclay, Robert, I. 157.
Barefoot, Walter, I. 13, 250.
"Barley, Siberian," I. 75, 77, 78, 80.
Barnard, *Capt.* Thomas, II. 82, 119, 201, 205, 207, 209, 211, 219, 222, 238.
Barrett, Nathaniel, II. 79, 82.
Bartlett, John, I. 386.
Barton, Benjamin Smith, *M.D.*, II. 320, 321, 328, 357, 363, 365, 366.
Bartram, Isaac, his paper on "Siberian Barley," I. 75, 77, 78, 80.
Bartram, William, I. 425; II. 284, 289.
Baskerville, John, II. 268.
Batchelder, Abraham, I. 422, 426.
Baxter & Co., *Messrs., of Richmond, Va.*, II. 411.
Baylie. See "Baillie, Robert."
Baylies, William, *M.D.*, II. 160.
Beeking, Frederick, II. 256, 259, 261, 262, 271.
Beers, Isaac, II. 345.
Belcher, *Gov.* Jonathan, I. 70, 169, 216, 233, 376; II. 27, 28, 293.
Belknap, Elizabeth, II. 211.
Belknap, Jane. See "Marcou, Jane."
Belknap, Jeremy, *D.D.*, date of his birth, I. 320. Illness of, 85. Elected a member of the American Philosophical Society, 300, 305. Diary of his "Tour to the White Mountains," 386–401; II. 170–178, 180-189. His tour published in the Transactions of the Philosophical Society, I. 425. His "Description of the White Mountains," 404 *n.* His journey to Philadelphia, 420 *n.* His Election Sermon, 423, 434. One of his political letters published in the New Haven Gazette, 439, 441, 466. His position as minister of Dover, 428. His salary, *ib. n.* Removes from Dover, 440. Preaches at Exeter, 443. Invited to the Federal Street Church in Boston, 454, 457–459. Project for establishing him in Philadelphia as editor of a magazine, 450–455, 459, 461. Sale of his house in Dover, 464 *n.* His house in Boston, 465, 485. His salary in Boston, 458. Offered a share in the American Magazine, II. 88, 91, 97. Receives the degree of D.D. from Harvard College, 306. Changes his house in Boston, 330. Plan showing the various houses in which he lived in Boston, 351. His health, 352, 354, 356. His literary labors in 1795, 353. His death, 366 *n.* His *History of New Hampshire*, I. 19–21, 98; II. 88, 95, 108, 110, 113, 116, 168 *n.*, 317. Publication of the first volume, I. 122, 124, 127, 133, 166, 177, 181, 187, 189, 198, 199, 214–216, 222–224, 226, 227, 237, 239–248, 250, 256–260, 263–267, 272, 278, 284, 292, 294, 304, 317, 320, 321, 331, 334–337, 344, 348, 352, 354, 369, 372, 377, 378, 380, 382, 383, 386, 401, 411, 414, 415. Slow sale of the volumes, I. 491, 499; II. 1, 217. Publi-

cation of the remaining volumes, II. 197, 200, 244, 246, 247, 253, 258, 261, 263, 266, 272, 283. His *American Biography*, I. 500; II. 344, 347–349, 364, 366, 368–370, 411. His *Foresters*, I. 421, 424, 474, 482, 484, 489, 492, 496; II. 1, 13, 15, 135, 137, 141, 197, 200, 278, 285, 289, 293, 295, 297, 313, 317, 427. Anecdote about the authorship, II. 227. His *Discourse on Columbus*, 307, 308, 312, 314, 315, 317, 318, 322. His *Conjectures on the Original Population of America*, I. 127, 135, 138–142, 151, 153, 167, 177, 301, 306, 316. His *Memoir on Parsnips*, I. 332. His views on political matters, 207, 282, 283, 309–315, 431; II. 124. His interest in natural history and philosophy, I. 39, 40, 56, 83, 88, 117, 154–156, 208, 219, 234, 251–255, 306, 327. His account of the dark day in New England, 1780, 52–55. Meteorological Record, 280. His religious views, 173, 190–193, 324–326, 339, 347, 364–368, 383. His views of the death of children, II. 170. His opinion of the Quakers, 221. His ideas of copyright, 141–143. — Letter of St. George Tucker to, in regard to slavery in Massachusetts, 379–381. Letter of Dr. John Eliot to, about slavery, 382, 383. Letters of Samuel Dexter to, in reference to Judge Tucker's queries on slavery, 384–387, 387, 388. Note of Nathaniel Appleton to, 388. Letter of Judge Winthrop to, on slavery, 389–391. Letter of Thomas Pemberton to, on Judge Tucker's queries, 391–394. Letter from Samuel Dexter to, 395–398. Letter from Dr. Holyoke to, on Judge Tucker's queries, 398–401. President Adams's letter to, 401, 402. Letter from Governor Sullivan on slavery in Massachusetts, 402, 403. Letters from Judge Tucker to, 404–412. Governor Sullivan's letter to, on slavery in Virginia, 412–416. Letter from President Adams to, 416. Judge Tucker's letter acknowledging election to the Historical Society, 416, 417. Letter from Judge Tucker in regard to slavery in Virginia, 417–423. Letters from Judge Tucker to, 423–431. — His "History of New Hampshire" cited, I. 10 *n.*, 79 *n.*, 112 *n.*, 116 *n.*, 122 *n.*; II. 376. "Life of," by Mrs. Marcou, cited, I. 184 *n.*, 412 *n.*, 420 *n.*, 428 *n.*; II. 115 *n.*

Belknap, *Mrs.* Jeremy, I. *passim*; II. 1–370, *passim*. Letters of Mr. Hazard to, 368, 370, 371. Letter of, to Mr. Hazard, 370.

Belknap, John, II. 220, 225, 366 *n.*, 367.

Belknap, Joseph, I. 215 *n.*, 230, 250, 256, 257, 259, 260, 262, 263, 266, 270, 273–276, 279, 280, 284, 286, 287, 289, 290, 293, 298, 299, 302–305, 307, 308, 317, 318, 320, 331, 334, 336, 339, 342, 343, 355, 357, 363, 370, 377, 382, 403–405, 412, 415, 418, 421, 426, 462, 473, 483, 486; II. 50, 188, 189, 232, 255–257, 261, 263, 268, 277 *n.*, 315, 345. Apprenticed to Robert Aitken, I. 230–232, 245, 419. His indentures cancelled, 479, 480, 483, 484. Sketch of his life, 484 *n.* See also "Belknap & Hall," and "Belknap & Young."

Belknap, Samuel, illness of, II. 81, 83, 86, 90, 96, 100, 105, 110, 113. Death of, 114, 115.

Belknap, Sarah, II. 149, 153, 275, 279, 281.

Belknap, *Miss* ——, *of New York*, II. 133, 134.

Belknap & Hall, *Messrs.*, II. 277 *n.*, 355, 484 *n.*

Belknap & Young, *Messrs.*, II. 281, 484 *n.*

Bell, Robert, I. 211, 214, 249, 259, 308, 322, 413.

Benezet, Anthony, I. 345, 356.

Bernard, *Gov. Sir* Francis, II. 385, 395.

Beverley, Robert, II. 404.

Biarn (Biron), ——, II. 411.

Bible, first American editions of the, I. 159 *n.* American editions of the, II. 308.

Biddle, Clement, II. 279, 300, 303.

Bingley, William, I. 162.

Biographical Dictionary, proposed, by Dr. Belknap, I. 3–5, 7, 10, 12, 26, 37, 50.

Biron. See "Biarn."

Bishop, *Capt.* Phanuel, II. 6.

Black, Moses, I. 458.

Blackstone, *Sir* William, II. 425 *n.*, 439.

Blagrove, *Rev.* Benjamin (?), II. 230, 233, 239.

Blair, Hugh, *D.D.*, I. 424, 427. His "Lectures on Rhetoric," I. 277, 308, 316, 317, 327, 337, 341, 351, 358, 370.

Bland, *Col.* Richard, II. 410.

Blindness, remarkable case of (Mehitabel Whidden's), I. 238, 243.

Boies, Jonathan, I. 458.

Bond, *Prof.* William Cranch, II. 186 *n.*

Boston, *Mass.*, social condition of in 1780, I. 47. Printing in, 1782, 131, 133. Town meeting in, 1784, 358–361. Federal Street Church, 447 *n.*, 454, 457, 458. Fire in, 1787, 460, 470–472. Visit of the French fleet to, 1787, 486–488. Burglary prevalent in, 488. Brattle Street Church, II. 5. Negroes kidnapped in, 19–21, 25, 32. Petition to the General Court on account of the kidnapped negroes, 22, 23. Return of the kidnapped negroes, 55, 59. Attempts to establish Roman Cath-

olic services in, 110, 116, 119, 241. First directory of, published, 115. Maps of, *ib.* Washington's visit to, in 1789, 203. Monument on Beacon Hill, 233. Trinity Church used for a Roman Catholic funeral, 241. Tontine Crescent, 351. Lodge of colored Masons in, 383.
Bostwick, *Rev.* David, his "Life of President Davies," I. 10.
"Bourgogne," *French war vessel*, the, at Portsmouth, I. 148.
Bourne, Silvanus, II. 116.
Bowdoin, *Gov.* James, I. 480, 488; II. 103, 104, 107, 232, 266, 294, 390, 395, 396. His "Discourse before the American Academy" cited, I. 110.
Bowen, Abel, his "Picture of Boston" cited, II. 123 *n.*
Boyle, *Sir* Robert, I. 137.
Boylston, Thomas, II. 384.
Brackenridge, Hugh Henry, I. 227.
Brackett, Joshua, *M.D.*, I. 97, 213, 225, 240, 242, 243, 273, 407, 482.
Brackett, *Mrs.* Joshua, I. 129.
Bradford, Alden, *LL.D.*, II. 391 *n.*
Bradford, David, II. 350.
Bradford, Thomas, I. 147 *n.*
Bradford, William, I. 147 *n.*, 281, 297.
Brandt, Joseph, I. 228.
Breese, Abby, II. 252, 256.
Breese, Arthur, II. 296.
Breese, *Hon.* Samuel, I. 420, 423, 477, 478, 480, 485, 487; II. 45, 101, 103, 127 *n.*, 149, 166, 252, 254, 256, 257, 259, 304, 326, 356, 363, 368, 371 *n.*
Breese, *Mrs.* Samuel, II. 147, 149, 165, 252, 254, 256, 371.
Breese, *Miss* Susan, II. 45, 131, 165, 197, 209, 254, 273, 275, 371.
Brissot de Warville, Jean Pierre, II. 221, 282, 283, 288.
Brooks, *Deacon* Samuel, I. 32.
Broomfield, ——, *of Charlestown*, II. 291, 292.
Brown, Andrew, II. 336.
Brown, *Capt.* ——, *of Fryeburg, Me.*, I. 398, 399.
Brown, *Dr.* ——, *of Halifax*, II. 325.
Brown, *Rev.* ——, II. 313, 316–318.
Brown, ——, *innkeeper*, I. 387.
Brydone, Patrick, I. 191.
Bryson, James, I. 199, 203, 212, 258, 350, 432, 449; II. 1, 141, 148, 167, 190, 198, 201.
Buchner, Andrew, *M.D.*, I. 295.
Buckminster, Joseph, *D.D.*, I. 65, 84; II. 3, 12, 14, 100, 109, 264, 265. "Metropolitan," I. 106, 112, 113, 122, 137, 146, 147, 158, 167, 204, 217, 228, 230, 237, 335, 340, 341, 343, 347, 351, 354, 361, 373, 409. Marriage of, 131, 132.
Buckminster, *Mrs.* Joseph (Stevens), I. 129, 342; II. 13, 133, 135, 149, 153.
Buckminster, *Rev.* Joseph Stevens, birth of, I. 354.
Buckwheat cakes, II. 285, 294, 296.
Buffaloes, II. 52, 57, 60.
Buffon, Georges Louis Le Clerc, *Comte de*, I. 142, 150.
Bulfinch, Charles, II. 234.
Bumper, origin of the word, I. 494.
Bunker, ——, I. 400.
Bunker Hill, Dr. Gordon's account of the battle of, II. 156, 159, 161, 163. Dr. Belknap's views on the battle, 159. Mr. Thacher's account of the battle, 163. Direction of the wind during the battle, *ib.*
Burdet, *Rev.* George, I. 318, 327, 339, 346.
Burgess, *Rev.* Daniel, I. 471.
"Burghers," the, I. 180.
Burgoyne, *Gen.* John, I. 44, 421, 425.
Burke, Ædanus, I. 431.
Burley, ——, I. 400.
Burnaby, Andrew, *D.D.*, his "Travels through the Middle Settlements of North America," I. 14, 17, 22, 24, 25, 29, 30.
Burnet, Gilbert, *D.D., Bishop of Salisbury*, his "Life of John, Earl of Rochester," cited, I. 85, 89.
Burr, *Rev.* Aaron, I. 8.
Butler, Joseph, *D.D., Bishop of Durham*, II. 385.
Byles, Daniel, I. 262.
Byles, Mather, *D D.*, I. 68, 432; II. 51, 53, 201, 239. Hymn by, and Joseph Green's parody on the same, I. 70, 71. Anecdote of, 285. Anecdote told by, 471. List of articles found in his house after his death, II. 234, 235.
Byles, Thomas, I. 262, 285.
Byng, *Admiral* John, II. 135.

C.

Cadogan, William, *M.D.*, II. 144.
Caldwell, *Rev.* James, death of, I. 113.
Caldwell, *Mrs.* James, death of, I. 113.
Caldwell, James, II. 438.
Caldwell, John, II. 438 *n.*
Caldwell, Seth, II. 438 *n.*
Caldwell, William, II. 439.
Callender, Joseph, II. 269.
Calvin, John, II. 254.
"Cambridge Chronicle," *newspaper*, II. 277 *n.*
Campbell, *Col.* Arthur, I. 91, 95.
Canada, proposed road to, I. 110, 112. Trade of, with Vermont, I. 143.
Capac. See "Manco Capac."
Carey, Matthew, I. 450–453, 457, 459, 461, 462, 476, 477, 480, 483, 484, 489, 491, 494; II. 15, 38, 46, 60, 72, 76, 79, 97, 112, 142, 203, 209, 211, 218, 237, 267, 270, 308, 315, 338, 346, 426 *n.*
Carleton, *Sir* Guy, I. 130, 203.
Carmichael, *Rev.* John, I. 492.
"Caroline," *sloop*, I. 274.

Carroll, John, *D.D., Bishop of Baltimore*, II. 123, 263, 265.
Carter, John, II. 46.
Carver, *Capt.* Jonathan, I. 414.
Cary, *Col.* Richard, II. 48, 84, 136, 143. Death of, II. 212, 213.
Cary, Richard, *Jr.*, II. 213.
Caryl, *Rev.* Joseph, his "Exposition of the Book of Job," I. 16.
Catholicism, Roman, I. 61.
"Ceres," *ship*, II. 255, 264, 274.
Chadburn, *Col.* ——, I. 54.
Chalmers, George, his "Political Annals of America," II. 152, 154, 218, 219, 223.
Chambaud, Louis, II. 218, 222.
Chambers, Ephraim, his "Dictionary of Arts and Sciences," I. 39, 150.
Chandler, Thomas Bradbury, *D.D.*, II. 165.
Channing, William Ellery, *D.D.*, I. 447 *n.*
Charles II. *of England*, I. 3.
Charlevoix, Peter Francis Xavier, I. 26, 28, 101.
Chastellux, François Jean, *Marquis de*, II. 221 *n.*
Chauncy, Charles, *D.D.*, I. 171, 172 *n.*, 201, 348, 406, 407, 409, 465.
Cheesman, *Capt.* Samuel, II. 266, 276, 279, 298, 358.
Chesterfield, Philip Dormer Stanhope, *Earl of*, I. 6, 58, 67, 69, 76.
Chevalier, Jane. See "Anderson, Jane."
Chew, *Hon.* Samuel, I. 157, 161.
Chittenden, *Gov.* Thomas, I. 176.
Christianity, evidences of, I. 15, 17.
Chubb, Thomas, II. 385.
Church, Benjamin, *M.D.*, I. 95 *n.*
Churchman, John, II. 283, 288.
Cincinnati, Society of the, I. 303, 307; II. 150.
Cist, Charles, I. 122, 451.
Clarke, John, *D.D.*, I. 171, 172 *n.*, 362, 368; II. 65, 167, 179. His funeral sermon on Dr. Chauncy, I. 465.
Clarkson, Cornelia, II. 240, 243, 256, 257, 267, 272, 275, 281, 296, 322, 325, 341, 352–354, 358, 361, 363, 364.
Clarkson, Gerardus, *M.D.*, I. 115, 184, 269 *n.*, 290, 293, 298, 305, 333, 381, 420 *n.*, 425, 428, 430, 438, 446, 479, 480, 483, 484, 486, 488, 494, 496; II. 13, 15, 110, 118, 121, 127, 133, 198, 201, 205, 240, 243, 341 *n.* "Ulysses," I. 260, 263, 268, 297, 320, 336, 338, 341, 355, 410, 424, 440. Death of, II. 239, 240.
Clarkson, *Rev.* Joseph, II. 243, 270.
Clarkson, Matthew, I. 355, 420, 450, 453; II. 243, 341, 342.
Clarkson, Rebecca, II. 243.
Clarkson, Thomas, his "Essay on Slavery," II. 27, 28, 32, 33, 215, 216.
Clarkson, William, *M.D.*, II. 243, 270.
Clarkson family, the, II. 245.
Clergymen, salaries of, II. 125.
Clerical etiquette in leaving one parish for another, I. 440.
Clinton, *Sir* Henry, I. 64, 105.
Cobbett, William, II. 349 *n.*
Cochran, John, *M.D.*, II. 235.
"Cock and Hen," Dr. Belknap's Apologue of the, I. 8, 9, 11.
Codman, John, II. 252, 253, 260.
Coffin, Peleg, II. 346.
Coin, French, of Louis XIV., I. 93.
Coke, *Sir* Edward, I. 150.
Cold winter of 1779–80, I. 30, 31, 36.
Colden, Cadwallader, II. 158.
Colman, Benjamin, *D.D.*, II. 324.
Colonial policy of England, I. 14, 17.
"Columbia," *ship*, II. 231.
Columbia College, *New York*, II. 130.
"Columbian Centinel," *newspaper*, II. 15, 19, 43, 66, 116, 133, 149, 208, 212, 233, 239, 298, 301, 329, 342. See also "Russell, Benjamin."
"Columbian Magazine," I. 451 *n.*, 454, 459, 461, 462, 465, 473, 474, 476, 482, 496, 500; II. 1, 13, 19, 23, 25–28, 52, 59, 77, 80, 83, 88, 89, 92, 99, 105–107, 139, 142, 149, 158, 198, 286 *n.*, 294, 325. See also "Universal Asylum."
Columbus, Christopher, II. 307. Dr. Belknap's discourse on, 308, 312, 314, 315, 317, 318, 322.
Comet of 1784, I. 301.
Confederation, American, weakness of the, I. 207. Dr. Belknap's views on the instability of government under the, 309–315.
Cook, *Capt.* James, I. 154, 160, 273, 347; II. 401. Last voyage of, I. 413, 417.
Cooper, Samuel, *D.D.*, I. 384.
Copley, John Singleton, *R.A.*, II. 115.
Copp, Benjamin, I. 388.
Copp, ——, *of Wakefield, N. H.*, I. 386.
Copperas in New Hampshire, I. 32, 40.
Copyright, Connecticut law of, I. 195.
Cornwallis, *Gen.* Charles, I. 102.
Costume of ladies in 1782, I. 129.
Cotton, *Rev.* John, *of Plymouth Co.*, I. 16, 88, 95.
Cotton, John, I. 337.
Cotton, *Hon.* Josiah, II. 326.
Coxe, Tench, II. 190.
Cranfield, *Gov.* Edward, I. 3, 14.
Crevecœur, Hector St. John, I. 493.
Cromwell, Oliver, I. 464.
Crosby, Ebenezer, *M.D.*, II. 51, 53.
"Culheag," *a log trap*, I. 392.
Cumberland, Henry Frederick, *Duke of*, II. 383.
Cushman, Robert, his sermon at Plymouth, I. 93 *n.*
Cushman, *Elder* Thomas, I. 93 *n.*
Cutler, *Rev.* Manasseh, I. 385, 386, 391, 395, 397, 405, 408, 411, 412, 419, 425, 428, 442, 483, 484, 486–488, 490, 495, 496; II. 45, 53, 57, 61, 82, 170, 171, 176, 183, 186, 187, 189, 214, 215, 217, 282, 288. His removal to Ohio, I. 430.

D.

D. ——, *Mr.*, II. 107.
Daggett, *Capt.* ——, I. 479.
Dallas, Alexander James, I. 485, 489–491, 497; II. 27, 35, 86, 138.
Dalton, Tristam, II. 6.
Dana, Francis, *LL.D.*, II. 6, 8, 9, 376, 377.
Danforth, *Rev.* Samuel, II. 56.
Dark day in Canada, I. 425.
Dark day in New England, I. 52–55, 58.
Dartmouth College, I. 47. Education at, II. 40–43.
Davies, *Rev.* Samuel, I. 8, 10, 12. "Life of," by David Bostwick, 10. "Life of," by Dr. Gibbons, 12.
Davis, *Capt.* Edward, II. 257.
Davis, John, *LL.D.*, II. 326, 357–359, 367, 368. His edition of Cushman's sermon, I. 93 *n.* His edition of Morton's Memorial cited, 445 *n.*
Dawes, *Hon.* Thomas, II. 234 *n.*
Day, Luke, I. 455, 456.
Dayton, *Capt.* Jonathan, II. 3, 4, 67.
Deafness, proposed cure for, I. 295–297, 349.
DeLancey family, the, II. 158.
Democracy, I. 359, 360, 371.
"Democritus," *of Exeter, N. H.*, I. 43, 46, 446 *n.*
Dexter, Samuel, II. 376, 387 *n.* Letters of, to Dr. Belknap, in answer to Judge Tucker's queries, 384, 388. Letters of, to Dr. Belknap, on slavery, 395–398. Sketch of, 387 *n.*
Dexter, Timothy, *Lord*, II. 351.
Dickinson, John, *LL.D.*, I. 185, 193, 195, 202.
Dickinson, *Rev.* Jonathan, I. 8.
Dictionary, Universal, the, I. 39.
Dighton Rock, I. 343, 353, 361; II. 76, 77, 160. Inscription on the, II. 81.
Dilly, Charles, II. 114, 197.
Dilly & Longman, *Messrs.*, I. 449.
Dobson, Thomas, II. 247, 249, 250, 253, 255, 259, 273, 274, 291, 297, 301, 303, 305, 308–310, 312–315, 317, 318, 320, 322, 323, 325, 343, 346, 348, 349, 352, 354, 357, 360, 361, 368.
Dorchester, *Mass.*, I. 19.
Douglass, William, *M.D.*, I. 120, 209.
Dover, *N. H.*, I. 222. See also "Belknap, Jeremy."
Dover Court, origin of the name, I. 19.
Drake, Francis S., his "Dictionary of American Biography" cited, II. 78 *n.*
Drought in 1782, I. 143, 151, 156.
Drury, *Col.* Luke, I. 480.
Dudley, *Hon.* John, I. 446 *n.*
Dudley, *Gov.* Joseph, I. 127.
Dudley, ——, I. 419.
Duffield, George, *D.D.*, II. 100, 104, 107, 109.
Dugard, William (?), I. 346.
Du Luth, Daniel Greysolon, *Sieur*, I. 42.
Dunlap, John, II. 320, 327, 328.
Du Pratz, Le Page, his "History of Louisiana," I. 26, 28.
Duyckinck, Evert A. and George L., their "Cyclopedia of American Literature" cited, I. 73 *n.*

E.

Eames, *Capt.* Samuel, II. 322, 324, 326, 328, 348.
Earthquake in 1784, I. 299. In 1786, 424.
Eaton, ——, II. 149.
Eckard, Lawrence, I. 295.
Eckley, Joseph, *D.D.*, I. 21, 190.
Education in New Hampshire before and after the American Revolution, I. 287–291.
Edwards, *Rev.* Jonathan, I. 8.
Effingham, Thomas Howard, 3*d Earl of*, II. 383.
Eliot, *Rev.* Andrew, I. 247 *n.*, 434.
Eliot, John, *the Apostle*, II. 56, 63, 65, 69, 87–90, 96, 99, 329.
Eliot, John, *D.D.*, I. 15, 16, 18, 21, 23, 26–29, 35, 47, 128, 130–132, 281; II. 313. "Freemason," I. 163, 223, 247, 258, 267, 275, 279, 300, 308, 318, 329, 332, 333, 335, 340, 343, 354, 361, 368, 401, 407. Marriage of, 247. Letter from, to Dr. Belknap, in answer to Judge Tucker's queries, II. 382, 383.
Eliot, Samuel, I. 199, 206, 210, 214, 218, 222, 223 *n.*, 228, 230, 235, 240, 241, 246, 249, 258, 264–267, 278, 287, 292, 293, 332, 335, 348, 355, 362, 380, 402, 407, 449, 457, 469, 470 *n.*; II. 115 *n.* Extract from a letter of, I. 272.
Eliot, Samuel Atkins, I. 223 *n.*
Eliot, *Rev.* ——, *of Fairfield, Conn.*, I. 434.
Elizabeth, *of England*, II. 394.
Ellery, William, II. 292.
Elliott, *Col.* Simon, I. 458; II. 87, 361, 362.
Ellis, W., his account of Cook's Voyage, I. 413.
Eloquence in New Hampshire, II. 40.
Ely, Samuel, I. 133.
Emery, Enoch, I. 397.
Emery, Noah, I. 118.
Emery, Samuel, II. 335.
Emery, ——, I. 400.
England, Colonial policy of, I. 14, 17.
Entick, John, his "Spelling Dictionary," I. 174, 183, 274.
Episcopal clergy, complaints of persecution during the Revolution, made by, I. 134.
Erskine, *Rev. Dr.* ——, I. 424.
"Essay on the Agitation of the Sea," I. 25, 31, 251–253.
Estaing, Charles H. Théodat, *Comte d'*, I. 20, 21.

Evans, *Rev.* Israel, I. 36, 119, 122, 125, 408, 411; II. 103, 141, 145, 149, 300, 304. Installed minister of Concord, N. H., II. 148.
Evans, *Capt.* John, I. 387, 398, 399.
Everett, *Rev.* Oliver, II. 264, 265.
Erving, John, *D.D.*, I. 358, 368; II. 311, 341.

F.

Fairfield, *Conn.*, negroes kidnapped at, II. 32.
Farmer, John, his edition of "Belknap's New Hampshire" cited, I. 10 *n.*
Federal Capital, the, I. 416.
Federal Constitution, the, I. 495, 496, 498; II. 2, 29, 30, 33, 34, 36, 37, 39, 47–50, 54, 55, 57, 58. Massachusetts convention to ratify the, II. 5–10, 13–17.
Federal Street Church, *Boston*, I. 447 *n.*, 454. Dr. Belknap called to the, I. 457, 458.
Fenno, John, II. 122, 123, 126, 130, 132, 241, 243, 260, 274, 278, 281, 295, 297, 304, 314, 315, 317, 320, 328, 344, 350, 354.
Fever in Philadelphia. See "Philadelphia."
Field, ——, *of London, Eng.*, I. 125; II. 103.
Finley, *Mrs.* Ann (Clarkson), II. 243.
Finley, Rebecca (Mrs. Breese), II. 371 *n.*
Finley, Samuel, *D.D.*, I. 8, 10; II. 127, 371 *n.*
Fisher, Joshua, *M.D.*, I. 386, 389, 395; II. 171, 173, 175.
Fleet, John, I. 177; II. 300.
Fleet, Thomas, I. 177; II. 276, 300, 303.
Fleet, Thomas & John, *Messrs.*, II. 271, 279, 284, 286, 289.
Flint, Royal, II. 290.
Flume, Dr. Belknap's account of a, in Salmon River, N. H., I. 154–156, 160.
"Foresters," the, I. 421, 424, 474, 482, 484, 489, 492, 496; II. 1, 13, 15, 135–137, 141, 197, 200, 278, 285, 289, 293, 295, 297, 313, 317, 427. Anecdote about the authorship of, II. 227.
Foss, Joshua, *Jr.*, I. 426, 478.
Fowle, David, his "New Hampshire Gazette," I. 108, 132.
Fox, George, I. 328, 339.
Franklin, Benjamin, I. 25, 309, 432; II. 39, 43, 71, 155, 157, 190, 239, 294, 296, 401, 419.
Franklin, *Gov.* William, I. 182.
"Free Thoughts on the Toleration of Popery," II. 342.
Freeman, *Rev.* James, I. 500; II. 213, 315, 345.
"Freeman's Journal," the, I. 227.
"Freemason," the. See "Eliot, John."
French Revolution, the, II. 166, 190.
French war vessels in Portsmouth harbor, I. 148. Accident to one of the, I. 162.
Freneau, Philip, I. 186, 199, 203, 216, 417.
Fuller, *Major* Abraham, I. 109; II. 7.

G.

Gage, *Gov.* Thomas, II. 124, 395, 432, 434.
Gaine, Hugh, I. 186, 199; II. 295.
Gains, *Col.* George, I. 175.
Gannett, Ezra Stiles, *D.D.*, I. 447 *n.*
Garcilaso de la Vega, his "Royal Commentaries of Peru," I. 157, 161, 167, 174, 176, 242, 256, 273, 299, 306, 316, 334, 380, 404, 407; II. 79, 82, 119.
Gay Head, I. 253.
"Gentleman's Magazine," the, I. 25, 164; II. 203.
George II. *of England*, I. 10; II. 28.
George III. *of England*, I. 194, 205.
Georgia, value of a dollar in, I. 423, 427.
Gerard, Conrad Alexander, *LL.D.*, I. 62.
Germaine, *Lord* George, I. 107, 108.
Gerry, *Hon.* Elbridge, II. 5, 7–9, 18, 105, 108.
Gibbons, Thomas, *D.D.*, his "Life of President Davies," I. 12.
Gilbert, William W., II. 4.
Giles. See "Gyles."
Gill. See "Wright & Gill."
Gillon, *Commodore* Alexander, I. 117.
Glover, Richard, 205.
Goldsmith, Oliver, II. 118. His "Animated Nature," I. 137, 142, 150, 154, 160.
Goodwin, George, I. 147 *n.*
Goodwin, *Capt.* Nathaniel, II. 18.
Gookin, Daniel, II. 309, 315.
Gordon, William, *D.D.*, I. 1, 12, 19, 21, 22, 24, 25, 27, 29, 30, 32, 44, 51, 60, 103, 105 *n.*, 108, 111–113, 115, 119, 125, 126, 135, 147, 188, 198, 223, 240–243, 256, 264, 340, 348, 357, 435, 442, 457, 481, 489, 496; II. 102, 105, 107, 110, 111, 113, 115, 118, 120, 132, 145, 150, 156, 159, 161, 162, 166. Sketch of, I. 147 *n.* Extract from a letter of, 449. Criticisms on his History, II. 151, 153. His "American Revolution" cited, I. 23 *n.*
Gorges, *Sir* Ferdinando, I. 128; II. 49, 51. His "America Painted to the Life," I. 1.
Gorham, Nathaniel, II. 5, 68, 281, 283, 284.
Gout, remedies for the, II. 140, 144.
Gove, Edward, I. 106, 111, 112, 122.
Gray, Horace, *LL.D.*, II. 438 *n.*
Gray, ——, II. 310, 311.
Gregory, John, *M.D.*, his "Father's Legacy to his Daughters," I. 67, 69.

Green, Ashbel, *D.D.*, II. 262, 266–269, 284, 309, 341, 342.
Green, Joseph, I. 68. His parody on Mather Byles's Hymn, I. 71–73.
Greene, *Gen.* Nathaniel, I. 102; II. 152, 154.
Greenleaf, Thomas, II. 24, 29, 37, 44, 46, 54.
Greenleaf, William, II. 79, 82.
Grumman, Ichabod, II. 68. Affidavit of, 3, 4.
Guild, Benjamin, I. 441, 491, 494.
Gullagher, Christian, II. 269 *n.*
Guthrie, William, II. 329.
Gyles, John, "Memoirs" of, I. 3, 6, 8.

H.

Hale, ——, *of Cambridge, Mass.*, I. 240.
Hall, Prince, II. 12, 25, 28, 55, 59, 395 *n.*, 396, 397, 436 *n.*
Hall, Samuel, I. 189; II. 78, 82, 277 *n.*, 357.
Hall, Thomas, I. 484 *n.*; II. 277 *n.* See also "Belknap & Hall."
Hamilton, Alexander, I. 466; II. 217, 339.
Hamilton, Joseph, I. 400.
Hamilton, *Sir* William, I. 191, 328, 339, 354.
Hammond, ——, II. 25.
Hampstead Plain, *Long Island*, description of, I. 252.
Hancock, *Gov.* John, II. 15, 18, 32, 134, 212, 341, 356.
Hancock, *Mrs.* John, II. 53.
Harbach, John, II. 282.
Hardy, Silas, I. 464.
Harris, Benjamin, I. 209.
Harrison & Ansley, *Messrs.*, I. 223.
Harvard College, I. 25, 481; II. 198, 304, 342, 371, 387 *n.*, 391 *n.*
Haslett. See "Hazlitt."
Hastings, Jonathan, I. 35, 82, 132, 213, 214, 227, 236, 240, 334, 343, 348, 358, 376, 380, 449, 460, 470; II. 24, 28, 45, 55, 117, 118, 141, 167, 194, 196, 200, 302.
Haszard, *Mrs.* Mary, I. 196.
Havanna, picture of the Virgin (black) at, I. 176.
Hawkins, *Sir* John, II. 394.
Hazard, Ebenezer, his difficulties in collecting his historical papers, I. 13. An American chronology suggested by, 37, 50, 117, 119, 123. His interest in natural history and philosophy, 31–35, 38, 45, 59, 62, 91, 219–221. Elected a member of the American Academy, 88, 94. Appointed Postmaster-General, 115 *n.*, 116 *n.* His salary as Postmaster-General, 118. His oration in praise of knowledge, 126, 128, 129, 131, 132, 137. His estimate of the cost of printing Dr. Belknap's first volume, 223, 224. His marriage, 246, 247, 256, 257. His theological views, 339, 382. His son Samuel born, 351. His residence in Philadelphia, 372. Illness, 381. Removes to New York, 418. His residence in New York, 420, 441. His daughter Elizabeth born, 438. His collection of newspapers and pamphlets, 477, 478, 481, 491. Affidavit of Ichabod Grumman concerning him, II. 3, 4. Opposition to him as Postmaster-General, 4, 24, 35–37, 43, 63; 64–69, 71, 190, 191. Death of his mother, 58. His labors in the post-office, 61. His collection of papers, 71, 72, 75. Publication of his collection of papers, 85, 86, 91, 219, 223, 246, 248–251, 255, 258, 262, 276, 279, 290, 292, 305, 309, 328, 349. His account of the American Magazine and Register, 91–95. His opinion of the Society of the Cincinnati, 150; of the Bible as a school-book, 155. Removed from the office of Postmaster-General, 192. Reasons given for his removal from office, 193. Occupation, after losing his office, 195. His ancestry, 196. Vindication of his conduct in office, 207, 209, 211. Birth of his son Erskine, 208. His attempt to obtain another public office, 235–237. Removes to Philadelphia, 242. Residence there, *ib.*, 324. The first volume of his "Collections" published, 290. List of subscribers in Boston and vicinity to his first volume, 292 *n.* Elected a Corresponding Member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 297. Birth of his son Ebenezer, 311. Death of his son Ebenezer, 316. Letter to S. A. Otis, describing the fever in Philadelphia, 334–337.
Hazard, *Mrs.* Ebenezer, I. 256–500; II. 1–371, *passim.*
Hazard, Ebenezer, *Jr.*, II. 314, 318. Birth of, 311. Death of, 316.
Hazard, Elizabeth, birth of, I. 438.
Hazard, Erskine, II. 275. Birth of, 208.
Hazard, Samuel, I. 421, 425, 434, 466; II. 50, 78, 80, 122, 230, 304. Birth of, I. 351.
Hazard, *Alderman* ——, I. 460, 462.
Hazen, *Col.* John (?), I. 54.
Hazlitt (Haslett), *Rev.* William, I. 358, 370, 371; II. 168.
Heard, ——, *of Ipswich*, I. 386.
Hearne, Thomas, II. 118.
Hemmenway, Moses, *D.D.*, I. 173.
Hennepin, *Father* Louis, I. 26, 101. His views on the conversion of the Indians, 42, 46.
Henry *VIII. of England*, I. 46.
Hervey, *Rev.* James, his "Letters" cited, I. 51. His "Meditations," 247
Hewes, Josiah, II. 242, 244.

Hewes & Anthony, *Messrs.*, II. 251.
Heysham, Robert, II. 335.
Hight, ——, *of Jefferson, N. H.*, I. 394.
Hill, Samuel, II. 258, 261.
Hillegas, Michael, II. 193.
Hitchborn, ——, II. 76.
Hitchcock, Enos, *D.D.*, II. 228, 232. His "Memoirs of the Bloomsgrove Family," 238.
Hodgden, Alexander, II. 305, 307, 309.
Hodge, Hugh, *M.D.*, II. 335.
Hodge, Robert, II. 100.
Hodge & Shaker, *Messrs.*, II. 100.
Hogarth, William, II. 234.
Hogkins, John, I. 372.
Holbrook, Felix, II. 387.
Holyoke, Edward A., *M.D.*, II. 376. Letter of, to Dr. Belknap, with observations on Judge Tucker's queries about slavery in Massachusetts, 398–401. Sketch of, 398 *n.*
Hood, *Admiral Sir* Samuel, I. 108.
Hopkins, *Capt.* Caleb, II. 251, 268, 270.
Hopkins, Lemuel, *M.D.*, II. 227.
Hopkins, Samuel, *D.D.*, II. 331.
Hopkins, *Gov.* Stephen, II. 99, 102, 280, 284, 289. His account of Providence, R. I., 96.
Hopkinson, Francis, *LL.D.*, I. 182, 338, 345, 496; II. 38, 227, 228.
Howe, *Sir* William, I. 134; II. 191.
Howell, David, *LL.D.*, II. 220, 222, 224, 225.
Hubbard, Dudley (?), I. 386.
Hubbard, John (?), I. 386.
Hudson, Barzillai, I. 147 *n.*
Hunking, Mark, I. 3.
Huntingdon, Selina, *Countess of*, II. 166.
Hurd, Richard, *D.D.*, his "Introduction to the Study of the Prophecies," I. 229, 236.
Hust, *Rev.* ——, II. 379, 423.
Hutchins, *Capt.* Thomas, II. 52, 53, 57, 60, 61, 136, 143. Anecdote of, 139.
Hutchins, William, I. 372.
Hutchinson, James, *M.D.*, II. 335.
Hutchinson, *Gov.* Thomas, I. 334; II. 28, 37, 308, 384, 388, 395, 432. His "History of Massachusetts" cited, I. 3.

I.

"Independent Chronicle," *newspaper*, I. 142, 151.
"Independent Gazetteer," the, I. 35, 130.
Indians, I. 13, 83 *n.*, 100, 227; II. 56, 59, 67, 429, 430. Treaties with the, I. 4, 6, 10, 12. General Sullivan's expedition against the, 23, 36. Father Hennepin's views on the conversion of, 42, 46. Indian idols, 80. Indian slaves, II. 399.
Indian corn, price of, in 1782, I. 144.
Ingenhouse, John, his "Experiments on Vegetables," I. 218, 219, 234.
Inglis, Charles, *D.D.*, I. 146, 147. Interrupted in performing service in Trinity Church, New York, I. 134, 144.
Irvine, ——, II. 220.
"Isabella," *schooner*, II. 292.
Isinglass, I. 33, 39, 45, 49, 52, 56, 59, 68, 75, 76, 81, 82, 110, 112, 254. Manner of its discovery in New Hampshire, 79.
Ivers, Thomas, I. 472.

J.

Jackson, *Rev.* Joseph, II. 133, 135.
Jackson, *Major* William, II. 206.
Jackson, *Dr.* ——, I. 387.
Jaffrey, George, I. 98, 99, 118.
Jefferson, *Pres.* Thomas, I. 95 *n.*; II. 219, 236, 263, 265, 281, 284, 292, 295, 321, 362 *n.*, 407, 410, 412, 418, 424, 428, 429.
Jeffries, David, I. 98, 100, 102.
Jenkins, John, II. 247.
Jennison, Nathaniel, II. 403.
Jennison *v.* Caldwell, *case of*, II. 377, 403 *n.* Levi Lincoln's brief in the, 438–442.
"Joe," *Portuguese coin*, II. 270 *n.*, 272.
Johnson, Samuel, *LL.D.*, I. 222, 294.
Johnson, *Sir* William, I. 46; II. 152, 154, 158, 162, 164.
Jones, John Paul, I. 148.
Josselyn, John, I. 135. His "New England's Rarities" cited, 120 *n.* His "Voyages to New England" cited, II. 376.
Joy, Michael, II. 136–139, 197, 200.
"Juno," *sloop*, II. 303.

K.

Kames, Henry Home, *Lord*, II. 232.
Keith, *Sir* William, II. 404.
Kelley, ——, II. 218.
Keppele, *Mrs.* ——, *of Philadelphia*, II. 335.
Killsa, *Capt.* Moses, I. 274, 303, 308.
King, Rufus, *LL.D.*, II. 5–8, 11, 68.
Kippis, Andrew, *D.D.*, II. 354, 401.
Knight, *Mrs.*, her ferry, I. 65.
Knox, Hugh, *D.D.*, his "Moral and Religious Miscellany," II. 100, 102, 108.
Kuhn, Adam, *M.D.*, II. 337.

L.

Lafayette, Gilbert Motier, *Marquis de*, I. 104.
Lamb, James and Thomas, *Messrs.*, II. 248.

Lamb, Thomas, I. 458.
Lancaster, *Penn.*, I. 32.
Langdon, John, *LL.D.*, I. 113, 169 *n.*, 407. 433, 434; II. 105, 108, 210.
Langdon, *Mrs.* John, II. 135.
Langdon, Samuel, *D.D., Pres. of Harv. Coll.*, I. 65, 66.
Langdon, Woodbury, I. 433, 434.
"Lapis calaminaris," I. 32.
La Pluche, *Abbé* ——, his "Nature Displayed," I. 40.
La Poterie, *Abbé* Claude, II. 110, 116, 119, 121, 123.
Lardner, Nathaniel, *D.D.*, I. 138 *n.*
Larine, Breckvelt *de*, death of, II. 240. Funeral of, 243.
Larkin, *Deacon* John, II. 312, 362.
Latta, *Rev.* James, I. 165, 180.
"L'Auguste," *French war vessel*, accident to the, I. 162.
Laurens, *Col.* John, II. 154.
Lawrence, Robert F., his "Churches of New Hampshire" cited, I. 212 *n.*, 408 *n.*
Ledyard, John, I. 413.
Lee, *Gen.* Charles, I. 171, 195, 425. Death of, 184.
Lee, Richard Henry, II. 35, 115.
"Leonidas," *pseudonym*, I. 148, 158.
Lesley, ——, *schoolmaster*, I. 318.
Leslie, *Rev.* Charles, I. 236. His "Short and Easy Method with the Deists," 212, 218, 228.
"Letitia Cunningham," *book*, I. 183, 193.
Letters and Documents relating to slavery in Massachusetts, II. 373–442.
Lexington, weather at the time of the battle of, I. 330.
Libbey, Jeremiah, I. 99, 113, 115, 221, 223, 225, 235, 240, 241, 243, 246, 248, 277, 284, 333, 334, 340, 343, 344, 347, 349, 356, 358, 414, 415, 440, 442, 444, 460, 482; II. 197, 200, 217, 291, 298.
Lincoln, *Gen.* Benjamin, I. 20, 448, 456, 457, 460, 472, 480; II. 134, 326, 348.
Lincoln, *Hon.* Levi, II. 377, 403 *n.* His brief in the case of Jennison *v.* Caldwell, 438–442.
Linn, William, *D.D.*, II. 121, 126, 129.
Linné (Linnæus), Carl *von*, I. 143.
Little, *Rev.* Daniel, I. 70, 80, 81, 386, 388 *n.*, 395, 397, 399, 400; II. 171, 176, 185.
Livermore, Samuel, I. 434, 435,
Livingston, John H., *D.D.*, II. 129.
Longchamps, Charles Julien *de*, I. 384.
Long Island, origin of, I. 25. Description of parts of, 251–253.
Longman, Thomas, I. 166, 181, 204, 215, 218, 228, 235, 236, 266, 272, 273, 275, 277, 284, 286, 292, 303, 333, 340, 343, 346, 356, 374, 383, 401, 410; II. 116, 197. Letter from, to Dr. Belknap, I. 264, 265. Mr. Hazard writes to him respecting an English edition of Belknap's New Hampshire, 402, 403.
Lord, Benjamin, I. 54.
Lotteries, rage for in New England, II. 217, 248, 251.
Louis XIV. *of France*, coin of, I. 93.
Louis XVI. *of France*, II. 325, 328.
Louisburg, Gov. Shirley's instructions to Sir William Pepperell in the expedition against, I. 120, 124, 126. Siege of, 126, 127. Capitulation of, 127, 130, 133.
Lovewell, *Capt.* John, I. 397; II. 159.
Lovewell's Pond, battle of, I. 397, 398.
Lowell, John, *LL.D.*, II. 283, 294, 376, 403.
Lowndes, William Thomas, his "Bibliographers' Manual" cited, I. 219 *n.*
Loyalty of the American colonists at the beginning of the Revolution, I. 121, 124.
Luce, *Capt.* Abijah, II. 292, 295.
"Lucius," *pseudonym*, I. 203.
Lumber, a medium of exchange in New Hampshire, I. 222, 225.

M.

Mably, *Abbé* Gabriel Bonnot, I. 433.
McCarthy, *Capt.* ——, II. 384.
McDougall, *Gen.* Alexander, II. 79, 154.
McKean, *Rev.* Joseph, II. 213.
McKnight, *Rev.* John, II. 147.
McMillan, ——, *of Conway, N. H.*, I. 387, 397.
McMurray, William, his "Map of the United States," I. 249, 259; II. 282, 287, 288.
McNeill, Archibald, I. 458.
McNeill, Robert, I. 458.
Madison, *Pres.* James, II. 274.
Madison, James, *D.D., Bishop of Virginia*, II. 410.
Magaw, Samuel, *D.D.*, II. 257, 258, 261.
Magee, *Capt.* James, I. 473, 476, 483, 485, 486.
"Magnetic Bucket," the, I. 404, 408.
Mallet, Paul Henry, II. 411.
Manco Capac, *Inca of Peru*, I. 11, 141, 168.
Manning, James, *D.D.*, II. 12.
Mansfield, *Rev.* Isaac, I. 446.
Maple sugar, II. 181.
Marbois, François de Barbé, I. 68, 100, 108, 154; II. 189.
Marcou, *Mrs.* Jane (Belknap), her "Life of Dr. Belknap" cited, I. 184 *n.*, 412 *n.*, 420 *n.*, 428 *n.*; II. 115 *n.*
"Maria," *ship*, II. 251.
"Marien-glas." See "Isinglass."
Marietta, *Ohio*, settlement of, I. 493.
Marrant, *Rev.* John, II. 166, 190, 196.
Martha's Vineyard, I. 253.
Martin, William, II. 279, 285, 289.
Maryland, terms on which she acceded to the Confederation, I. 117.
Mason, *Dr.* ——, II. 376.

Mason, *Capt.* John, I. 98, 128. His patent, 111, 112.
Mason, *Col.* John Tufton, I. 116, 118.
Mason, Robert, I. 3, 13, 98, 250.
"Mason Catechism," the, I. 467.
Masonic lodge, colored, in Boston, II. 383.
Massachusetts, answer of, to the claim of Mason and Gorges, I. 128, 131. Act of, against witchcraft (1692), 209, 210. Boundary with New Hampshire, 242. Slavery in, II. 2. Convention in, to ratify the federal constitution, 5–10, 13–17. Political status of negroes in, 11. Petition of the General Court to Parliament (1652), 78, 82. Boundary with Plymouth Colony, 323, 326. Letters and Documents relating to Slavery in, 373–442. Attempts in, to prevent the importation of slaves, 385, 387–388. Negro petitions for freedom to the General Court of, 22, 23, 432–437. "Acts and Resolves" of, cited, I. 210 *n.*; II. 376. "Archives" of, cited, II. 436 *n.* "Records of the General Court" cited, 376. "Massachusetts Gazette" cited, 78.
Massachusetts Historical Society, I. 247 *n.*; II. 169 *n.*, 253 *n.*, 284, 297, 299, 308, 311, 315, 320, 322, 326, 327, 333, 341, 346, 347, 349, 350, 355, 356, 359, 362–365, 369, 376, 383 *n.*, 391 *n.*, 394 *n.*, 403 *n.*, 411, 416, 422, 424, 426 *n.*, 431. Formation of the, II. 231, 233, 245. "Collections" of the, 357, 358, 360, 366, 367. Publication of the early Collections of the, 277 *n.* "Collections" cited, 12 *n.*, 280 *n.*, 375–377, 423 *n.* Library of the, 389 *n.*, 411 *n.* "Catalogue of the Library" cited, 43 *n.*, 320 *n.* "Proceedings" of the, cited, 11 *n.*, 123 *n.*, 153 *n.*, 231 *n.*, 245 *n.*, 356 *n.*, 370 *n.*, 397 *n.*, 438 *n.*
"Massachusetts Magazine," the, II. 83, 93, 196, 198, 203.
Massachusetts Medical Society, II. 398 *n.*
"Massachusetts Spy," the, cited, II. 25 *n.*
Mather, Cotton, *D.D.*, I. 156; II. 62, 67, 116, 188, 202. His "Magnalia," I. 37; II. 2. His "Wonders of the Invisible World." 198, 199, 204, 205.
Mather, Increase, *D.D.*, II. 153–155.
Mather, *Rev.* Richard, I. 19.
Mather, Samuel, *D.D.*, I. 172.
Maverick, Samuel, II. 391.
Mayhew, Jonathan, *D.D.*, I. 223; II. 329.
Meigs, ——, I. 442.
Merrill, ——, *of Conway, N. H.*, I. 387 *n.*
Meteorological Record for 1783, in New Hampshire, I. 280.
"Metropolitan." See "Buckminster, Joseph."
Mifflin, *Gen.* Thomas, I. 122, 124, 223, 281, 407; II. 351, 352.
Millar, *Rev.* Robert, his "Propagation of Christianity" cited, I. 140 *n.*
Miller, Charles, II. 244.
Miller, Samuel, *D.D.*, II. 306, 309.
Minot, *Hon.* George Richards, his "History of the Insurrection in Massachusetts," I. 133 *n.*, 457 *n.*; II. 55, 59, 69, 428, 431.
Mirallez, *Don* Juan *de*, death of, I. 61.
"Monarch." See "Webster, Noah."
Montague, Edward Wortley, I. 14, 17, 322.
Montgolfier, Joseph (?), I. 329.
Montgolfier, Stephen (?), I. 329.
Montgomery, *Gen.* Richard, II. 152, 154.
"Monthly Review," the, II. 294.
Moody, *Rev.* Joshua, I. 13, 119.
Moore, John, *M.D.*, his "Travels" cited, I. 197.
Moorhead, *Rev.* John, I. 447 *n.*
Morgan, *Gen.* Daniel, I. 87, 91.
Morgan, *Col.* George, II. 60.
Morris, Robert, I. 279; II. 190, 272.
Morris, *Mrs.* ——, II. 355.
Morse, Jedediah, *D.D.*, I. 497; II. 14, 18, 21, 28, 30, 33, 34, 38, 40, 45–47, 50, 53, 54, 56–58, 62, 70, 72–75, 77, 79, 84, 98, 100, 108, 113, 117, 119–122, 125–128, 130, 131, 133, 134, 138, 140, 143, 144, 146, 148, 149, 152, 156, 160, 164, 165, 194, 196, 197, 200, 203, 207–218, 231, 235, 237, 242, 247, 248, 251, 252, 255, 259, 260, 263, 264, 267, 279, 285, 289, 290, 291, 294, 312, 316, 319, 329, 331, 333, 335, 343, 345, 346, 349, 350, 359–361, 365–367, 371, 423, 428, 431. His "American Geography," II. 1, 13, 84 *n.*, 117. His installation at Charlestown, 122. His marriage, 127.
Morse, *Mrs.* Jedediah (Breese), II. 138, 144, 147, 149, 167, 194, 196, 197, 209, 212, 213, 245, 252, 296, 343, 368, 371.
Morse, Samuel Finley Breese, birth of, II. 254.
Morton, Perez, II. 397.
Morton, Thomas, II. 152. Judge Davis's edition of his "Memorial" cited, I. 445 *n.*
Mother Goose, I. 354.
Mount Washington, ascent of, by Dr. Belknap's party, I. 389–391; II. 174–176.
Muir, *Rev.* James, II. 47, 62, 70, 73, 74, 100, 104.
Murray, James, I. 423, 426.
Murray, *Rev.* John, 314.
Murray, *Rev.* John, *the Universalist*, I. 149 *n.*, 152, 171, 364, 366, 369, 489, 492; II. 104, 314 *n.*
Musical Prodigy, a, I. 74, 76.
Mycall, John, I. 435, 484 *n.*; II. 232.
Myers, Moses, II. 404.
Myrick, ——, I. 274.

N.

Names proposed for new States to be made from the North-west Territory, I. 335 *n.*
Nash, Timothy, I. 396 *n.*
Nason, *Major* Samuel, II. 6, 18.
Navy, American, the, I. 148, 158.
Neal, *Rev.* Daniel, I. 37, 209; II. 364, 384. His "History of the Puritans," II. 2. His "History of New England" cited, 376.
Necker, Jacques, II. 123.
Negroes, Picture of the Virgin Mary (black), in Havanna, I. 176. Political status of, in Massachusetts, II. 11; in New Hampshire, *ib.*, 12 *n.* Several kidnapped at Boston, 19–21, 25, 32, 59. Eight kidnapped at Fairfield, Conn., 32. Return of those taken at Boston, 55. Petitions of, to Massachusetts General Courts, 22, 23, 432–437.
Newcastle, Thomas Pelham Holles, *Duke of*, I. 127.
New England, Presbyterianism in, II. 319. "Records of the United Colonies of," I. 4, 13, 92, 94, 100; II. 309, 323, 328.
New Hampshire, proposed constitution for (1779), I. 10, 15. Regulation act of, 15, 18. Constitutional convention of 1779, 26, 29. Bad character of a member of the House of Representatives of, 27, 29. Curious speech of a member of the Legislature of, 43, 46, 446 *n.* Boundary with New York, 111, 112; II. 206. Constitution of 1781, I. 111, 113, 114, 161, 163. Politics in (1782), 175. Copyright law of, 225. Boundary with Massachusetts, 242. Education in, before and after the American Revolution, 287–291. Illiterate magistrates in, 422, 426. Earthquake in (1785), 424. Politics in (1786), 433–435. Seal of the State, 494. Slavery in, II. 2. Political status of negroes in, 11, 12 *n.* Eloquence in, 40.
"New Hampshire Gazette," *newspaper*, I. 108, 132, 373.
New Hampshire Historical Society, "Collections" of, cited, II. 248 *n.*
New Jersey, College of (Princeton), I. 8; II. 27, 28, 311. Judges in (1786), I. 422. Soil of, 14, 17.
Newport, *R. I.*, evacuation of, I. 20, 21.
Newspapers, character of Philadelphia, I. 168, 178. Not carried in the United States mail, II. 24, 36, 38.
Newton, Thomas, *D.D., Bishop of Bristol*, I. 237.
New York, boundary with New Hampshire, I. 111, 112; II. 206.
New York, *city of*, moving of tenants on 1st of May of each year, I. 437, 459. Tumult in (1788), II. 31. Brick Church, 72, 74. Federal building in, 80, 108, 111. St. George's Society, 230.
Niagara Falls, I. 25.
Noble, ——, I. 92, 94.
North, Frederick, *Lord*, I. 206, 303.
"North American Review" cited, I. 335 *n.*, 484 *n.*
North-west Territory, names proposed for new States to be made from the, I. 335.
Norton, *Capt.* Constant, II. 303.
Nova Scotia, population of, I. 282, 283.
Nugent, Thomas, his "Pocket Dictionary of French and English," II. 219.
Nurse Truelove, I. 354.

O.

O'Connor, John, I. 497, 482.
Ogden, *Col.* Matthias, II. 367.
Ohio, settlement of, I. 493.
"Ohio Company," the, I. 484 *n.*, 487, 491, 493; II. 45, 139.
Oldmixon, John, II. 116 *n.*
"Ordinance of 1787," W. F. Poole's article on the, I. 484 *n.*
Osgood, David, *D.D.*, II. 213.
Osgood, *Major* Samuel, I. 398. Nominated Postmaster-General, II. 192.
Oswald, Eleazer, I. 162, 164, 186, 227, 322, 479; II. 24, 29, 35–37, 54, 70.
Otis, *Hon.* Samuel Alleyne, II. 338, 350, 353. Letter of Mr. Hazard to, 334–337.
Otto, Lewis William, II. 307, 315.

P.

Paine, *Rev.* Joshua, II. 98.
Paine, Robert Treat, curious proposal of, for making a survey of Massachusetts, II. 109.
Paine, Thomas, I. 121, 124, 159, 165, 180. His "Address to the Quakers," 2, 4. His "Crisis," 146, 152, 206.
Palestine, soil of, I. 14.
Palmer, *Rev.* Elihu, II. 291.
Paper, price of, in 1779, I. 7. Manufacture of in America, II. 242.
Paper money, I. 48, 57, 67.
Paracelsus (Bombast *de* Hohenheim), II. 199.
Parker, *Rev.* Noah, I. 333.
Parker, Samuel, *D.D.*, II. 240, 241, 243.
"Parliamentary History of England," the, cited, I. 206 *n.*
Parsons, Jonathan, *D.D.*, II. 224–226, 232, 237.
Parsons, Theophilus, *LL.D.*, II. 6, 8, 11, 18.
Partridge, *Hon.* George, II. 105.
Passaic, falls of the, I. 61.
Payne. See "Paine, *Rev.* Joshua."
Peabody, *Gen.* Nathaniel, II. 24.
Peace of 1783, I. 203, 205.
Peale, Charles Wilson, I. 62.

Pease, Levi, II. 145, 146, 148, 149, 157, 167.
Pelham, Henry, his "Map of Boston," II. 115, 120.
Pemberton, Thomas, letter of, to Dr. Belknap, on slavery in Massachusetts, II. 391–394. Sketch of, 394 *n.*
Penn, William, I. 37, 49, 52, 64; II. 99, 114, 126, 128, 131, 139, 143, 147, 152, 157, 160, 344. Anecdote of, 132.
"Pennsbury," manor of, II. 114, 116, 120.
"Pennsylvania Evening Post," *newspaper*, I. 87.
"Pennsylvania Herald," *newspaper*, I. 451 *n.*
"Pennsylvania Magazine," the, I. 73, 76, 151, 161, 164.
"Pennsylvania Packet," *newspaper*, I. 306, 328; II. 320, 327.
Pennsylvania, University of, I. 47.
"Pennycook Egg," Dr. Belknap's Apologue of the, I. 8, 9, 11, 15.
Pepperell, *Sir* William, II. 75, 77, 277. Gov. Shirley's instructions to, in the Louisburg expedition, I. 120, 124, 126.
Perkins, *Col.* Thomas H., II. 264.
Perrin, John, II. 218, 219.
Philadelphia, *Penn.*, character of newspapers in, I. 168, 178. Sickness in (1783), 261. Expenses of living in (1786), 453. Yellow fever in, II. 333–342.
Philadelphia Library, the, II. 302.
Philip, *King*, I. 445; II. 62.
Phillips Exeter Academy, I. 80.
Phipps, *Sir* William, I. 209; II. 290.
Pickering, John, *LL.D.*, I. 54, 175, 225, 246, 410.
Pickering, Timothy, *LL.D.*, II. 279, 282, 284, 289, 300, 335.
Pickles, *Rev.* William (Peregrine Pickle), II. 100, 102, 104, 107, 109.
Picture belonging to Gov. Winslow, I. 93.
Pike, Rev. James, II. 126.
Pike, Nicholas, II. 33, 40, 47.
Pine Plain, *Long Island*, I. 251.
Pintard, John, II. 157, 158, 162, 164, 165, 218, 231, 237, 286, 290, 293, 295.
Pitt, William, II. 280.
Place, George, I. 387.
Platt, ——, II. 87.
Plumer, William, his "Life of Gov. William Plumer" cited, I. 446 *n.*
Plymouth Colony, boundary of, with Massachusetts Bay, II. 323, 326.
Poole, Wm. F., his article on the "Ordinance of 1787" cited, I. 484 *n.*
Pope, Alexander, I. 6, 15; II. 307.
Pope, Joseph, I. 471; II. 283.
Popkin, *Rev.* John Snelling, I. 447 *n.*
Porter, Amos (?), I. 493.
Porter, *Rev.* Nathaniel, I. 397.
Portsmouth, *N. H.*, whirlwind at, I. 38, 50. Accident to a French man-of-war in the harbor of, 162.
Post-office, U. S., I. 469, 470, 475. Mail between Boston and Philadelphia, 48. Regulations of the, 470, 475. Newspapers not carried in the mail, II. 24, 36, 38. Method of transporting the mails, 44. Samuel Osgood appointed Postmaster, 192. See also "Hazard, Ebenezer."
Poterie, *Abbé* Claude *de la*, II. 110, 116, 119, 121, 123.
Powars, Edward E., I. 142, 151.
Pownall, *Gov.* Thomas, I. 359.
Poyntell, William, II. 309.
Presbyterian Church, divisions of the, I. 165, 180. "Records of the, in the United States," cited, II. 102 *n.* Proposed history of the American, 311.
Price, Richard, *D.D.*, I. 358, 415.
Price, *Rev.* Roger, II. 353.
Priestley, Joseph, *LL.D.*, I. 358; II. 349.
Prince, *Capt.* Job, II. 384.
Prince, Newton, II. 387.
Prince, *Rev.* Thomas, I. 14, 37. His "Annals" cited, II. 376.
Princeton College, I. 8; II. 27, 28, 311.
Printing, expense of, in America, I. 125, 177, 187, 188, 223–224.
Pritchard, William, II. 247, 249, 250.
Proud, Robert, his "History of Pennsylvania," II. 365.
"Providence Gazette," *newspaper*, II. 280 *n.*
Provost, Samuel, *D.D.*, *Bishop of New York*, II. 121.
Purchas, *Rev.* Samuel, II. 52.
Purvis, J ——, his collection of Laws of Virginia, II. 429.

Q.

Quakers, I. 157; II. 282, 288. Thomas Paine's address to the, I. 2, 4. Persecution of, in New England, 267. Dr. Belknap's opinion of, as politicians, II. 221.
Quincy, Edmund (*H. C.* 1722), II. 53.
Quincy, *Col.* Josiah, II. 51.
Quincy, Josiah, *LL.D.*, *Pres. Harv. Coll.*, II. 152 *n.*

R.

Ralston, ——, I. 421.
Ramsay, David, *M.D.*, I. 438; II. 69, 132, 162, 224.
Randolph, Edmund, II. 277, 285, 314, 361, 362 *n.*
Randolph, Edward, I. 3.
Randolph, John, II. 425 *n.*
Rea, Daniel, II. 149.
"Records of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America" cited, II. 102 *n.*
"Records of the United Colonies of New England," I. 4, 13, 92, 94, 100; II. 309, 323, 328.

Reed, William Bradford, *LL.D.*, his "Life of Joseph Reed" cited, I. 195 *n.*
Regulation Acts of New Hampshire, I. 15, 28.
Relly, *Rev.* James, I. 190, 347, 364.
Reynolds, Thomas, II. 38.
Rhetoric, method of teaching, in the last century, I. 346.
Richardson, Jacob, II. 292.
Rigby, *Sir* Alexander, II. 51.
Rindge, Isaac, I. 399.
Rittenhouse, David, *LL.D.*, I. 52, 62, 68, 301.
Rivington, James, his "Royal Gazette," I. 91 *n.*, 105, 164, 169; II. 365, 366.
Robbery, New York law for prevention of (1779), I. 24, 27.
Robbins, Rev. Chandler, I. 88 *n.*
Robbins, *Rev.* Philemon, sermon by, cited, I. 88 *n.*
Robin, *Abbé* Claude C., his "Voyage dans l'Amérique Septentrionale," I. 249, 259.
Robinson, *Rev.* John, I. 326. His "Apology for the Brownists," II. 362, 364.
Rochambeau, Jean Baptiste Donatien *de* Vimeur, *Comte de*, I. 249 *n.*
Rodney, George Brydges, *Lord*, I. 148.
Rodgers, John, *D.D.*, I. 432, 434; II. 34, 39, 73, 80, 104, 133, 139, 147, 150.
Rogers, *Rev.* Daniel, I. 444.
Rogers, William, *D.D.*, II. 335.
Rogers, *Mrs.* William, death of, II. 335.
Rolfe, John, II. 404 *n.*
Roman Catholic services in Boston, II. 241.
Romans, *Capt.* Bernard, I. 417; II. 57.
Ross, *Capt.* ——, *of Lancaster, Pa.*, I. 429.
Rousselet, *Rev.* Louis *de*, II. 240.
Rowlandson, *Mrs.* Mary, I. 444.
Roxbury, *Mass.*, inscription from burying-ground in, I. 19.
"Royal Gazette." See "Rivington, Jas."
Royalton, *Vt.*, attack on by Indians, I. 83 *n.*
Rush, Benjamin, *M.D.*, I. 494; II. 13, 46, 49, 51, 53, 106, 107, 155, 198, 205, 240, 243, 244, 247, 249, 266, 285, 318, 336, 339, 355, 357.
Russell, Benjamin, II. 43–45, 48, 65, 66, 69, 112, 115, 116, 123, 130, 149, 201, 239, 292, 304.
Russell, Joseph, I. 257, 260, 262, 275 *n.*, 278, 279, 334; II. 168, 169. Letter of Ebenezer Hazard to, I. 276.
Rycaut, *Sir* Paul, his translation of Garcilaso de la Vega, I. 157 *n.*, 167.

S.

Sabin, Joseph, his "Dictionary of Books relating to America," II. 282 *n.*
Sabine, *Hon.* Lorenzo, his "American Loyalists" cited, I. 146 *n.*
St. Clair, *Gen.* Arthur, I. 44.
St. George's Society, *New York*, II. 230.
Salaries of clergymen, I. 30, 49.
Salmon Fall River, description of a flume in, I. 154–156, 160.
Salmon, Thomas, his "Geography," I. 82.
Sandwich, *Mass.*, proposed canal at, II. 254.
Sargent, Winthrop, I. 171 *n.*, 493; II. 103, 104, 107, 133, 309.
Savage, Edward, II. 358.
Sawyer, Benjamin, I. 396 *n.*
Sawyer, ——, *of Hamilton, Mass.*, I. 49[illegible].
Sayre, *Rev.* James, II. 130.
Scott, *Capt.* James, *Jr.*, II. 257.
Scott, Robert, II. 250.
Schuyler, *Gen.* Philip, II. 151.
Schuyler family, the, II. 158.
Seabury, Samuel, *D.D.*, *Bishop of Conn.*, I. 435; II. 131.
Sedgwick, Theodore, *LL.D.*, II. 6.
Sergeant, Jonathan Dickinson, I. 182; II. 335.
Sewall, David, *LL.D.*, I. 32, 246.
Sewall, *Chief Justice* Samuel, II. 399.
Shakers, I. 307, 317, 327.
Shakspeare, William, "Julius Cæsar" cited, II. 71 *n.*
Shattuck, Job, I. 448.
Shaw, *Major* Samuel, I. 473; II. 752.
Shays, Daniel, I. 448, 455, 460, 464; II. 350.
Shays's Rebellion, I. 448, 455, 457, 460, 462, 464.
Sheaffe, Jacob, I. 262, 269, 270.
Shepard, *Gen.* William, I. 455.
Shippen, William, *M.D.*, II. 337.
Shipwrecks on the American coast in 1783, I. 287.
Shirley, *Gov.* William, I. 106, 120, 124, 126, 249; II. 75, 77, 277.
Shitz, ——, II. 265.
Shober, Frederick, II. 100.
Shurtleff, Nathaniel B., *M.D.*, his "Topographical and Historical Description of Boston" cited, II. 234 *n.*
Siberian barley, I. 75, 77, 78, 80, 82.
Siberian wheat, I. 57, 60.
Silver, supposed mines of, in the White Mountains, II. 187.
Simitière, Pierre Eugène *du*, I. 142, 149 *n.*, 406.
"Skunk Association," the, I. 182.
Slate, I. 32.
Slavery, II. 2, 11, 22, 23, 219, 220, 223. Letters and Documents relating to, 373–442. Judge Tucker's queries about, in Massachusetts, 381. Letter of Dr. John Eliot on, 382. Samuel Dexter's letters on, 384–388, 395–398. Judge Winthrop's letter on, 389–391. Thomas Pemberton's letter on, 391–394. First mention of, in New England, 391. Origin of the English slave-trade, 394. Dr. Holyoke's letter on, 399–401. John Adams's letter on, 401, 402. Gov. Sullivan's letter on, 402, 403. Letters of Judge Tucker

on, in Virginia, and project for emancipation, 404–412, 417–423. Gov. Sullivan's letter on Judge Tucker's views, 412–416. Petitions of negroes to Massachusetts General Courts, 432–437. Lævi Lincoln's brief in the case of Jennison *v.* Caldwell, 438–442.
Slave-trade, petition to Massachusetts General Court against the, II. 22, 23. Origin of the English, 394.
Sluyter, ——, I. 370.
Small-pox, inoculation for the, I. 231.
Smith, *Hon.* Jonathan, *of Lanesborough, Mass.*, II. 10.
Smith, Jonathan B., *of Philadelphia*, I. 368, 379.
Smith, *Capt.* John, II. 72, 82, 425. His "Generall Historie of Virginia" cited, 404 *n.*
Smith, Robert, *D.D.*, I. 174.
Smith, Samuel (?), II. 321.
Smith, Samuel, his "History of New Jersey," II. 365, 366.
Smith, *Col.* William, II. 191.
Smith, *Hon.* William, his "History of New York," II. 162.
Smith, William, *D.D.*, his "Eulogy on Dr. Franklin," II. 294, 296.
Smith, *Capt.* ——, *of Waterborough, Me.*, I. 400.
Snow, Caleb Hopkins, his "History of Boston" cited, II. 234 *n.*
Snowdon, ——, *of New Jersey*, II. 256, 272, 273, 275, 341.
Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, II. 154. "Abstract of the Reports" of the, cited, I. 134, 144, 147.
Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians, II. 269 *n.*
Soto, Fernando *de*, II. 52, 53, 57, 60–62, 64, 85, 86.
South Carolina, value of a dollar in, I. 423, 427.
Sparhawk, John, I. 154, 160.
Spelts, I. 60.
Spooner, *Rev.* John, II. 410.
Spotswood, William, I. 451, 462, 463, 465, 474, 477, 482, 500; II. 2, 15, 26, 27, 32, 33, 35, 72, 86, 87, 89, 95, 103, 105, 106, 135, 137, 138, 141, 146, 148–150, 157, 161, 162, 167, 245, 258, 262, 269, 324–326, 328, 345, 347, 348, 361. Extract from a letter of, II. 158.
Spotted children, I. 380.
Σφραγίς, meaning of the word, I. 39.
Sprague, *Judge* John, II. 438, 439, 441.
Spring, Samuel, *D.D.*, II. 160.
Springfield, *Mass.*, Shays's attack on the arsenal at, I. 455.
Sproat, James, *D.D.*, I. 184, 190, 368; II. 262, 309, 335.
Stark, *Gen.* John, I. 396 *n.*
Stark, *Col.* William, I. 396.
States, names proposed for the new, I. 385 *n.*
Stearns, William, II. 438 *n.*, 440.
Steiner, Melchior, I. 122.
Stephens, *Dr.* ——, *of the West Indies*, II. 339.
Sterne, Lawrence, I. 268, 273.
Steuben, Frederick William Augustus, *Baron*, I. 62; II. 47.
Stevens, Benjamin, *D.D.*, I. 66, 131 *n.*; II. 12, 133, 135, 264, 265.
Stevens, *Mrs.* John (Sargent), I. 171.
Stiles, Ezra, *D.D.*, I. 12, 343, 434, 439, 445; II. 77, 215. His Election Sermon, I. 353, 361.
Stillman, Samuel, *D.D.*, I. 48; II. 148.
Stith, *Rev.* William, II. 404, 410, 412.
Stockbridge, Charles, *M.D.*, II. 392.
Stockdale, John, II. 114.
Stoughton, *Lieut.-Gov.* William, I. 19, 196.
Strong, *Gov.* Caleb, II. 5, 6, 8, 438 *n.*
Stuyvesant, *Gov.* Peter, II. 158, 218.
Sullivan, *Gov.* James, II. 376, 397, 417, 418, 421, 422. Letter of, to Dr. Belknap, on slavery in Massachusetts, 402, 403. Sketch of, 403 *n.* Letter of, to Dr. Belknap, on slavery in Virginia, 412–416. His "History of Maine," 422.
Sullivan, *Gen.* John, I. 100, 116, 154, 288, 326, 339, 355, 408, 411, 433, 434, 443, 446, 498; II. 2, 13, 152. His expedition against the Western Indians, I. 23, 36. "Life of," by Thomas C. Amory, cited, 433 *n.*
Swift, Jonathan, *Dean of St. Patrick's*, I. 15, 156.
Symmes, *Hon.* John Cleves, II. 83, 87, 89, 96.

T.

Talc, I. 355, 362.
Tammany, origin of, I. 355, 363.
Tappan, *Rev.* David, II. 155, 160, 163.
Taylor, Durbin, I. 426.
Taylor, George, II. 355.
Taylor, *Hon.* John, II. 6.
"Temple of Cloacina," the, I. 182.
Temple, *Sir* John, I. 432.
Tench, *Miss* ——, I. 233.
Tennent, William Mackay, *D.D.*, I. 12. Extract from a letter of, 36.
Thacher, *Rev.* Peter, I. 384 *n.*; II. 156, 161, 163, 166, 190.
Thackara, James, II. 250.
Thatcher, George, II. 317, 324.
Thayer, Cornelius (?), II. 275.
Thayer, *Abbé* John, II. 240, 342, 344.
Thomas, Isaiah, *LL.D.*, II. 46, 62, 83, 84, 88, 89, 93, 97, 98, 101, 112, 160, 196, 198, 201, 203, 233, 238, 247, 249, 257, 261, 266, 267, 297, 328, 403.
Thomas & Andrews, *Messrs.*, II. 257, 265, 278, 280, 344, 348.
"Thomas and Sarah," *ship*, II. 18.
Thompson, *Hon.* Samuel, II. 6, 18.
Thompson, ——, *of Maine*, I. 400.

Thomson, Benjamin, inscription on his tombstone in Roxbury burying-ground, I. 19
Thomson, Charles, I. 184; II. 193, 297, 308, 401.
Tides in the American lakes, I. 41, 46, 101.
Tillotson, John, *Archbishop*, I. 39.
Tories, I. 25, 28, 282.
Towne, Benjamin, I. 122, 124, 170.
Treadwell, Ann (Mrs. Eliot), I. 247.
Treadwell, Jacob, I. 247.
Treadwell, *Rev.* John, II. 213.
Trenchard, James, I. 451; II. 89, 95, 98, 101, 102, 105, 106, 108, 111, 112, 126, 139, 146, 149, 150, 194, 200, 201, 203, 205, 256, 258, 262, 264, 267.
Truelove, Nurse, I. 354.
Trumbull, John, *LL.D.*, II. 227. His "McFingal," I. 142, 146.
Trumbull, *Col.* Jonathan, II. 66, 105.
Trumbull, *Gov.* Jonathan, I. 106; II. 356, 359.
Tucker, Henry St. George, II. 423, 425 *n.*
Tucker, Nathaniel Beverley, II. 425 *n.*
Tucker, St. George, *LL.D.*, II. 12 *n.*, 375–377, 402 *n.*, 412, 414, 415. Letter of, to Dr. Belknap, with queries on slavery in Massachusetts, 379–381. Letters of, to Dr. Belknap, 404–412. Letter of, on slavery in Virginia, 417–423. Letters of, to Dr. Belknap, 423–431. Elected a Corresponding Member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 416. Sketch of his life, 425 *n.* His "Dissertation on Slavery," 426. Reception of his "Dissertation" by the Virginia Legislature, 426, 427.
Tucker, Thomas Tudor, II. 424.
Tudor, William, II. 231 *n.*
Tuttle, ——, *of New Hampshire*, I. 423.
Tyler, John, I. 456.

U.

"Ulysses." See "Clarkson, Gerardus."
United States Bank, II. 265, 266.
"United States Magazine," the, I. 74, 77, 80.
"Universal Asylum and Columbian Magazine," the, II. 220, 240, 243, 286, 295.
Universalism, I. 171–174, 190–193; II. 306, 310. Dr. Belknap's views on universal salvation, I. 364–368.
University of Pennsylvania, I. 47.
Usher, *Gov.* John, I. 98.

V.

"Valerius," *pseudonym*, I. 195, 199, 202, 203.
Vallance, John, II. 250.
Varnum, James Mitchell, II. 82.
Vassall, William, II. 385.
Vaughan, John, II. 108, 267, 274, 285, 289.
Vaughan, Samuel (?), II. 108.
Vega. See "Garcilaso de la Vega."
Vermont, I. 107. Trade between and Canada, 143. Pamphlets relating to the history of, II. 167.
Virgin Mary, picture of a black, in Havanna, I. 176.
Virginia, first laws of, II. 276, 280. Attempts to prohibit the importation of slaves into, 380. First importation of slaves into, 404 *n.* Judge Tucker's letter on slavery in, 405–412. Governor Sullivan's views on emancipation of slaves in, 412–416. John Adams's views, 416. Judge Tucker's letter to Dr. Belknap on plan for emancipation, 417–423. His "Dissertation on Slavery," 426. Reception of the "Dissertation" by the Legislature of, 426–427.
Virginia cloth, I. 34.

W.

Waldo, Daniel, *Jr.*, II. 309, 313.
Waldron, Isaac, I. 275 *n.*
Walker, Gideon, I. 400.
Walker, John, his "Sufferings of the Clergy," I. 135.
Walker, Quock, II. 403, 438–440.
Wallcutt, Thomas, II. 253, 260, 263, 265, 267, 269, 271, 275, 290, 299, 308.
Waller, Edmund, I. 268 *n.*
Wansey, Henry, his "Excursion to the United States," II. 349 *n.*
Warner, Ferdinando, *LL.D.*, II. 145.
Warren, *Gen.* Joseph, II. 152.
Warren, *Sir* Peter, I. 120, 127.
Warville. See "Brissot de Warville."
Washburn, *Hon.* Emory, *LL.D.*, II. 438 *n.*
Washington, Baily, I. 91 *n.*
Washington, *Pres.* George, I. 20, 22, 61, 62, 134, 145, 300, 340, 346, 356, 379, 406, 412; II. 17, 43, 117, 120, 123, 125, 132, 134, 151, 153, 155, 161, 191–193, 195, 196, 198, 201, 204, 206, 212, 226, 229, 236, 258, 272, 326. Forged letters of, I. 87, 91, 95. "Journal of his Tour to the Ohio," 87, 91, 122, 124, 164; II. 50. Inauguration of as President of the United States, 120. His visit to Boston in 1789, 203.
Washington, *Mrs.* George, II. 132.
Washington, Lund, I. 87.
Washington, *Lt.-Col.* William, I. 87, 91 *n.*
Waters, *Col.* Josiah, I. 103, 199, 239, 273, 483, 486, 488, 490; II. 21, 28, 33, 40, 47, 160, 163, 216.
Watts, Isaac, *D.D.*, I. 433.
Webb, ——, II. 423.

Webster, Noah, *LL.D.*, II. 23, 25–27, 31–34, 51, 52, 56, 57, 59, 62, 69, 71, 72, 77, 80, 81, 83–86, 88, 90–93, 97, 100–103, 107, 117, 228, 231, 233, 238, 240, 243.
Webster, Peletiah, II. 335.
Wedgery, William, II. 6, 8, 18.
Weld, *Rev.* Thomas, II. 56.
Wentworth, *Sir* John, I. 265, 267, 278, 482.
Wentworth, Michael, I. 94.
West, David, II. 325, 330, 332, 349, 352, 354, 357–360, 367.
West, Samuel, *D.D.*, I. 95 *n.*, 223, 433; II. 131, 331, 333. His Plymouth anniversary sermon, I. 94, 95, 97.
Western lands, price of, I. 491.
Westminster confession of faith, the, I. 315, 324.
Wheeler, Adam, I. 448, 464.
Wheelock, Eleazer, *D.D.*, I. 228.
Wheelock, John, *D.D.*, his "Essay on Painting, Music, and Poetry" cited, II. 41.
Whidden, Mehitabel, case of, I. 238, 243.
Whipple, *Col.* Joseph, I. 387, 388 *n.*, 391, 393, 395; II. 171, 173, 176, 178, 180, 181, 189.
Whipple, *Gen.* William, I. 107, 433.
Whirlwind in Massachusetts, I. 38, 50, 56, 59.
Whiskey insurrection, the, II. 350, 351.
White, James, II. 305, 325.
White Mountains, Dr. Belknap's tour to the, in 1784, I. 386–401; II. 160, 164–167, 170–178, 180–189. Notch in the, II. 182. Supposed mines of silver in the, 187.
Whitefield, *Rev.* George, I. 328, 339.
Whitwell, Samuel, *M.D.*, II. 148.
"Whole world," meaning of the words in the Apostolic commission, I. 135, 138–142.
Wier, Robert, I. 458.
Wight, *Rev.* Ebenezer, I. 471.
Wilberforce, William, II. 394.
Wilkinson, Jemima, I. 161.
Willard, Joseph, *D.D.*, *Pres. Harv. Coll.*, II. 271.
Willard, Samuel, *D.D.* anecdote of, I. 285.
William and Mary College, II. 425 *n.*
Williams, Roger, II. 90, 96.
Williams, Samuel, *LL.D.*, I. 436. His "History of Vermont," II. 422.
Williamson, *Hon.* William Durkee, his "History of Maine" cited, I. 120 *n.*
Willis, Nathaniel, I. 27, 216.
Wilson, *Rev.* James, II. 3, 14, 21.
Winchester, *Rev.* Elhanan, I. 171.
Wingate, Enoch, I. 387.
Wingate, *Hon.* Paine, II. 15, 16, 19, 25, 34, 64–69, 105, 106, 108, 115, 127, 155, 210, 243, 244, 246, 247, 273, 281, 285, 292, 312, 314–319, 324, 344.
Winslow, *Gov.* Edward, picture belonging to, I. 93.
Winthrop, *Judge* James, II. 376, 401. Letter of, to Dr. Belknap, on Judge Tucker's queries about slavery in Massachusetts, 389–391. Sketch of, 391 *n.*
Winthrop, *Gov.* John, II. 72, 76, 77, 229, 231, 233. His "History of New England," I. 106; II. 87, 376.
Winthrop, *Prof.* John, *LL.D.*, I. 88, 410; II. 218, 395.
Witchcraft, law of Massachusetts relating to, I. 209, 210, 219.
Witherspoon, John, *D.D.*, I. 8; II. 36, 207, 252, 258, 260.
Wolcott, Oliver, II. 366.
Wright, Francis, letter of, transmitting the call of the Federal Street Church to Dr. Belknap, I. 459.
Wright & Gill, *Messrs.*, I. 223, 246.

Y.

Yankee, Dr. Gordon's derivation of the name, II. 118.
Yankee Doodle, origin of, II. 118.
Young, Alexander (Belknap & Young), I. 484 *n.*; II. 277 *n.*
Young, Alexander, *D.D.*, II. 277 *n.*
Young, William, II. 240, 286, 287, 290, 293, 295.

Z.

Zenger, John Peter, I. 162.

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